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THE HISTORY

OF

MARITIME AND INLAND DISCOVERY.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

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AND JOHN TAYLOR,

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HISTORY OF MARITIME AND INLAND DISCOVERY.

VOL. II.

H. Corbould. del. E. Finden. sculp.

BALBOA DISCOVERS THE SOUTH SEA.

——— he ran, before his companions to the summit of a mountain, from which he surveyed, with transports of delight, the boundless Ocean, which rolled beneath.

Page 40.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC

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CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.

MODERN VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY, FROM COLUMBUS TO CAPTAIN COOK.

CHAP. I.

COLUMBUS.

Second Voyage of Columbus. — General Enthusiasm in his Favour. — Arrives at the Caribbee Islands. — Approaches Hispaniola. — Finds the Fort destroyed. — Fate of the Spaniards who had remained. — The City of Isabella founded. — Columbus pursues his Voyage to the West. — Discovers Jamaica. — Supposes Cuba to be a Part of Asia. — Returns to Hispaniola in broken Health. — Confusion of Affairs. — Arrival of Bartholomew Columbus. — Complaints sent home. — Juan de Aguado appointed Commissioner. — Columbus returns to Spain. — Well received. — His third Voyage. — Discovers the American Continent. — State of the Colony at St. Domingo. — Bobadilla appointed Governor. — He sends home Columbus in Chains. — Public Feeling towards the Admiral. — Ovando supersedes Bobadilla. Page 1

CHAP. II.

COLUMBUS AND AMERICO VESPUCCI.

Fourth Voyage of Columbus. — Occurrences at Hispaniola. — Fate of Bobadilla. — Columbus reaches Honduras. — Receives Accounts respecting Mexico. — Examines the Coast of Veragua. — Sufferings of the Expedition. — Shipwreck on the Coast of Jamaica. — Bold Voyage to Hispaniola in a Canoe. — Distress of Columbus. — Inhuman Conduct of Ovando. — The Admiral at length relieved. — Returns to Spain. — His Death. — Honours paid to his Ashes. — Merit of his Discovery. — Expressions of the Classic Writers supposed to relate to America. — Claims of the Dieppois to the Discovery of the New World. — Of the Basques and Bretons. — Alonzo de Hojeda follows in the Track of the Admiral. — Amerigo Vespucci falsely claims the Honour of having discovered the Continent. — Testimony of the Pilots. — Causes which enabled him to impose his Name on the New World. 19

CHAP. III.

EARLY DISCOVERIES IN AMERICA.

Navigators who emulated the Fame of Columbus. — Vincent Yanez Pinzon. — Discovers Brazil. — The River of Amazons. — Brings home the first Opossum seen in Europe. — Voyage of Bastidas. — Explores Venezuela and Carthagena. — His Distresses. — Provinces awarded to him. — Policy of the Spanish Court. — Jealousy excited by the English and Portuguese. — Expedition of Pinzon and Solis to South America. — Second Voyage of Solis. — Its Object. — He reaches the River La Plata. — Devoured by the Savages. — Exertions of Hojeda. — His Expedition to colonise Uraba. — Finds a Rival in Nicuessa. — Defeated by the Indians. — Builds St. Sebastian. — His Sufferings and Death. — Wretched Fate of Nicuessa. — Balboa remains in Darien. — Marches across the Isthmus. — Discovers the South Sea. — Superseded by Pedrarias. — His unhappy End. . . . Page 29

CHAP. IV.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES, AND FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE EARTH.

Diego Columbus takes the chief Command in the Colonies. — Increased Energy. — Ponce de Leon seeks the Fountain of Youth. — Discovers Florida. — Observes the Eastward Currents. — Expeditions of Garay. — Cordoba visits Yucatan. — Grijalva discovers New Spain. — Aillon reaches the Coast of Carolina. — Attempts to make a Settlement. — His melancholy Failure. — Fernando Magellan. — Respective Rights of Spain and Portugal. — Magellan engages to conduct a Fleet westward to the Moluccas. — Winters on the Coast of Patagonia. — Mutiny in the Fleet. — His stern Conduct. — The Natives described. — The Guanaco. — Magellan enters the Pacific Ocean. — Arrives at the Philippine Isles. — Converts the King of Zebu, and engages in Warfare for his Sake. — Is slain by the Islanders. — Treacherous Conduct of the King of Zebu. — The two remaining Ships reach the Moluccas. — Fate of the Trinidad. — The Vittoria completes the Circumnavigation of the Earth. — Loss of a Day in her Reckoning. 42

CHAP. V.

FERNANDO CORTEZ.

Education of Cortez. — Arrives at Cuba. — Appointed to command the Expedition against New Spain. — Throws off the Authority of Velasquez. — Builds Vera Cruz. — Commences his March. — Defeats the Tlascalans. — Massacre at Cholula. — The Spaniards enter the City of Mexico. — Danger of their Situation. — Cortez arrests Montezuma. — Defeats Narvaez. — Revolt of the Mexicans. — Death of Montezuma. — Battle of Otumba, and Triumph of the Spaniards. — Mexico surrenders. — Alvarado marches to Guatemala. — Expedition of De Olid. — Cortez conducts an Army from Mexico to Honduras. — Convention of Badajos. — Loyasa sent with a Fleet to the Moluccas. — His Fate. — Voyage of the Pataca. — Cortez sends Saavedra to assist Loyasa. — Surprise of the Portuguese. — Saavedra discovers New Guinea and other Islands. — His Fate. — Cortez becomes

an Object of political Jealousy. — Revisits Spain. — How received. — Returns to Mexico with diminished Power. — Discovers California. — Consumes his Fortune in fruitless Expeditions. — Returns to Spain. — His African Campaign. — Neglected by the Court. — His Death. Page 53

CHAP. VI.

CONQUEST OF PERU.

New Efforts of the Spaniards. — Combination of Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque. — First Attempt of Pizarro on Peru. — His Failure. — Succeeds in visiting that Country. — His Negotiations in Spain. — Invades Peru. — Seizes the Inca. — The Spaniards obtain an immense Treasure. — The Inca put to Death. — Almagro invades Chili. — Sufferings of the Spaniards. — Revolt of the Peruvians. — Civil War between Almagro and Pizarro. — Almagro defeated and put to Death. — Valdivia penetrates to the Southern Borders of Chili. — Extraordinary Journey of Vadillo. — Benalcazar conquers Quito. — Expedition of Alvarado. — Gonzalez Pizarro marches in search of the Cinnamon Country. — Difficulties of the March. — Gonzalez reaches the Cinnamon Country, and rashly explores towards the East. — Sufferings of the Expedition. — Francisco de Orellana embarks on the Maragnon. — Descends that River to the Ocean. — He propagates Stories of El Dorado and Nations of Amazons. — Fate of Orellana. — Return of Gonzalez Pizarro to Quito. — Rebellion of Almagro's Party. — Death of Francisco Pizarro. - - - 69

CHAP. VII.

CONQUESTS OF THE SPANIARDS.

Brazil neglected by the Portuguese. — Diogo Alvarez shipwrecked on the Shores of that Country; spared by the Savages, and becomes a Cacique. — Visits Europe, and returns to Brazil. — Colony of Janeiro founded. — Sebastian Cabot explores the River La Plata. — Ascends the Parana. — Pedro de Mendoza founds the City of Buenos Ayres. — Ayoles ascends the River Paraguay, and crosses the Mountains to Peru. — Yrala completes his Discovery. — Narvaez undertakes the Conquest of Florida. — Penetrates to Apalachan. — His calamitous Retreat. — Adventures of his Treasurer, Alvaro Nunez. — The Savages shocked at the Cannibalism of the Spaniards. — Alvaro turns Merchant and Physician to the Indians. — Travels from Florida to Mexico. — Florida bestowed on Fernando de Soto. — His unhappy Fate. — Alvaro Nunez made Governor of La Plata — His Journey from the Coast to the Parana. — Calamitous Termination of his Command. — Journey of Marcos de Nizza to Civola. — Expedition of Alarchon and Coronado in search of the Seven Cities. — Their disappointment. — Supposed Invention of a Steam Ship by Garay. — Rapid Decline of Energy in the Spanish Colonies. - - - - 86

CHAP. VIII.

CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

Policy of Portugal with respect to its Conquests in India. — Cabral despatched with a Fleet. — Discovers Brazil. — Fate of Bartholomew Diaz

—Success and Return of Cabral. — Juan de Nova discovers Ascension Island and St. Helena. — Second Voyage of De Gama. — He discovers the Seychelles. — Vincent Sodrez visits the Red Sea. — Expedition under Francisco de Albuquerque. — The Portuguese obtain a Footing at Cochin. — Almeyda the first Viceroy. — His Successes and melancholy End. — Victories of Alfonso de Albuquerque. — He takes Goa, Calicut, Malacca, and Ormuz. — His Death. — Discovery of the Isles of Tristan d'Acunha, — of Sumatra, and of Madagascar. — First Visit to Ceylon. — Serrano discovers the Moluccas. — A Colony founded there by De Britto. — Trade established with China. — Misfortune of the Ambassador Pereira. . . . . Page 102

CHAP. IX.

FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO.

First Adventures of Mendez Pinto. — He goes to India. — Visits Abyssinia. — Carried in Chains to Mocha. — Sold as a Slave. — Ransomed, and goes to Goa. — Sent as Ambassador to the Battas. — Wonders of Sumatra. — He proceeds to Aaru. — Shipwrecked and captured. — His Misery. — Redeemed, and goes to Patana. — Attacked by Pirates. — His Escape. — Turns Pirate. — Captures a Bride. — Wrecked on Pirates' Island. — Singular Deliverance. — Death of Coja Acem. — Sails in search of Calempluy. — Adventures during the Voyage. — Wrecked. — Sent a Prisoner to Nankin. — Remarks on the Chinese. — Proceeds to Pekin. — Meets with Christians. — Condemned to labour at Quansy. — Tatar Invasion. — How treated by the Tatars. — Reaches Cochin-China. — Joins a Pirate. — Cast away on Japan. — Cures the King of Bungo's Son. — Dismissed. — Wrecked on the Great Lequio. — Condemned to Death. — Saved by the Compassion of the Women. — Mission to Pegu and Ava. — The Idol Tinagoogoo. — Pinto turns Jesuit. — Remarks on his History. 116

CHAP. X.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH.

Voyages of Sebastian Cabot. — First Discovery of Newfoundland. — The Cortereals. — Voyages of the French. — Canada. — First Expeditions of the English. — Attempts to find a North-East Passage. — Fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby. — Richard Chancelor goes to Moscow. — His Reception. — Steven Borough reaches the Strait of Waigatz. — Frobisher sails to discover the North-Western Passage. — Friesland. — Brings home some Esquimaux. — Supposed Gold Ore. — His second Voyage. — His Ships laden with the Ore. — He sails a third Time to plant a Colony. — Failure of the Attempt. — Voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. — Ships provided with Amusements. — He fixes a Colony in Newfoundland. — Proceeds on Discovery, and perishes. . . . 136

CHAP. XI.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH.

Voyages of John Davis. — Result of his Researches. — He believes in the Existence of a North-West Passage. — Northern Expeditions of the

Dutch. — Voyages of William Barentz. — Cornelison passes the Strait of Waigatz. — Barentz reaches the Northern Extremity of Nova Zembla. — Description of the Walrus. — Second Voyage of Barentz. — Information received from the Samoyeds. — Third Voyage. — Spitzbergen and Cherry Island discovered. — Barentz and his Crew winter in Nova Zembla. — Their Sufferings. — Extraordinary Refraction. — Death of Barentz, and Voyage of the Crew in open Boats. — Attempts of the Danes to explore Greenland. — Voyages of James Hall. — Fate of Hall and of Knight. — Henry Hudson. — He makes Observations on the Dip of the Needle. — His Voyage towards the Pole. — Second Voyage. — Place of the Magnetic Pole. — A Mermaid described. — Third Voyage. — Discovers Hudson's River. — Fourth Voyage. — Sails to the West. — Enters Hudson's Bay. — Narrative of his Proceeding. — Mutiny of the Crew. — Hudson and the sick Men turned adrift. — Return of the Mutineers. Page 152

CHAP. XII.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH.

Voyage of Sir Thomas Button. — Reaches the Western Shore of Hudson's Bay. — Winters in Nelson's River. — His Ability as a Commander. — Gibbons attempts to follow up his Discoveries. — Voyage of Bylot and Baffin. — Skill of the latter in the Science of Navigation. — Their Second Voyage. — Instructions given them. — Discover Baffin's Bay. — Extraordinary Variation of the Compass. — Extent of their Navigation. — Commencement of the North Sea Fishery. — Voyages of Steven Bennet. — Cherry Island taken possession of by the Muscovy Company. — Whale Fishery begins. — Voyages of James Poole. — Mayen's Island discovered. — Baffin's Observations. — Voyages of Fox and James. — Reports of Canadian Hunters. — First English Settlement made in Hudson's Bay. — Hudson's Bay Company incorporated. — Wood's Voyage to Nova Zembla. — Unfortunate Expedition of Knight to Hudson's Bay. — Voyage of Captain Middleton. — Controversy between Dobbs and Middleton. — Reward proposed by Government for the Discovery of a North-West Passage. 168

CHAP. XIII.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

Journey of Jenkinson to Bokhara. — Description of Astracan. — Timur Sultan. — Manners of the Turkmans. — Bladebone Divination. — Bokhara. — Trade of the Caspian. — Trade of Venice with the East. — The English engage in the Levant Trade. — Journey of Fitch and Newbery to India. — First Voyage from England to India by the Cape of Good Hope. — Unfortunate Result. — East India Company incorporated. — Successful Voyage of Lancaster. — Middleton sails to the Moluccas. — An Ambassador sent to the Great Mogul. — East India Trade of the Dutch. — They supplant the Portuguese in Japan. — Vanderhagen's Expedition. — Adventures of William Adams. — He builds a Ship for the Emperor of Japan. — His Interest at Court. — Not allowed to depart. — Favours the Dutch. — His Letter. — Captain Saris arrives at Japan. — His Description of that Country. — The Emperor's Letter to the King of England. — Termination of the English Trade with Japan. — Dutchman wrecked on

Corea. — Their Adventures. — Escape. — Their Description of the Country. — Voyages of the French to the East. — Pirard de Laval wrecked on the Maldives. — His Account of those Islands. — His Dream and fortunate Liberation. - - - - - - Page 186

CHAP. XIV.

SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA.

Success of the Newfoundland Fishery. — Rapid Increase of English Shipping. — Patent granted to Sir Walter Raleigh. — Voyage of Amadas and Barlow. — They discover Wokoken Island. — Trade with the Natives. — Virginia. — Colony planted by Sir Richard Greenville. — The Coast explored. — The Colonists suffer from Want. — Return home with Sir Francis Drake. — Second Colony. — Its Fate. — Third Colony. — Perishes from Want. — Raleigh's Plans of Conquest. — El Dorado. — He takes Trinidad. — Ascends the Orinoco. — Falls of Caroli. — Intercourse with the Natives. — Result of the Expedition. — Virginia again explored. — Colony established at James-Town. — Adventures of Captain Smith. — Taken by the Indians. — His Life saved by the Princess Pocohontas. — She marries Mr. Rolfe. — Comes to England. — Her Death. — Lord Delaware appointed Governor. — The Summers' Islands taken possession of. — Cultivation of Tobacco. — New Plymouth founded by the Brownists. — Voyage of Cartier to the St. Lawrence. — He ascends the River to Montreal. — Sufferings of his Crew. — His Return. — French Colonies. - - - - - - - - 204

CHAP. XV.

ESTABLISHMENTS IN AFRICA.

Exclusive Trade of Portugal to Africa. — Voyages of Windham and Lok. Success of Lok. — Adventures of Andrew Battel. — Taken Prisoner by the Portuguese. — Carried to Angola. — Trades for the Governor. — Attempts to Escape. — Detected and Imprisoned. — Sent to Massingano. — Escapes. — His Journey. — Retaken. — Sent to Elembo. — Wounded in Battle. — The Portuguese trade with the Giagas. — Follow them up the Country. — Battel left as a Hostage. — Threatened with Death. — Escapes to the Giagas. — Returns to Massingano. — Peace with England. — Battel's Dismissal refused. — He deserts the third Time. — Betakes himself to the Woods. — Lake Kasansa. — He builds a Boat, and reaches the Sea. — Picked up. — Returns home. — Mission to the Giagas. — Their Atrocities. — Zingha embraces Christianity. — English Senegal Company. — Thompson ascends the Gambia. — His Death. — Voyage of Jobson. — Conference with Buckar Sano. — Accounts of Timbuctoo. — The silent Traffic. — *French Companies.* — Jannequin's Travels. — Brue ascends the Senegal. — Receives Intelligence of the Gold Trade. — Compagnon visits Bambouk. — Remissness of the Portuguese. - - - 223

CHAP. XVI.

VOYAGES TO THE SOUTH SEA.

A Voyage of Alcazava. — He sends to explore the Interior of Patagonia. — Mutiny of the Crew. — Failure of the Expedition. — Voyage of Camargo.

— Perseverance of Ladrillero. — Discoveries of Villalobos. — He attempts to fix a Colony at the Philippines. — New Guinea. — Legaspi despatched to the Philippines. — Voyage of Urdaneta. — Discoveries of Juan Fernandez. — New Zealand — First Voyage of Mendana. — He discovers the Salomon Islands. — Second Voyage. — The Marquesas and Queen Charlotte's Isles discovered. — Sir Francis Drake. — He beholds the South Sea from the Isthmus of Darien. — Bold Attempt of John Oxnam. — His unfortunate End. — Drake's Expedition. — The Patagonians. — Execution of Doughtie. — Voyage through the Straits of Magellan. — Drake driven far to the South. — His Successes on the Coast of Peru. — Takes a Ship laden with Treasure. — Seeks a Passage by the North. — Reaches a high Latitude. — New Albion. — The Country ceded to Drake. — He sails to the Moluccas. — Is well received by the King of Ternate. — Crab Island. — Narrow Escape. — Safe Return of Drake. — How received at home. — — Adventures of William Carver. - - - - - Page 241

CHAP. XVII.

VOYAGES TO THE SOUTH SEA.

Remarks on Drake's Voyage round the World. — Its Celerity. — Discoveries. — Sarmiento surveys the Straits of Magellan. — Proposes to fortify them. — Expedition for that Purpose. — Its Sufferings. — San Felipe founded. — Its speedy Ruin. — Expedition of Sir Thomas Candish. — He passes the Strait. — His Success. — Captures the St. Anne. — Voyage home. — His Observations. — His Death. — The Dutch turn their Attention to the Trade with India. — Expedition of Van Noort. — Account of the Magellanic Tribes. — The Ladrones. — Return of Van Noort. — Voyage of Verhagen's Fleet. — Struggles of De Weert. — Remarkable Voyage of Quiros. — Discovers many Islands. — Sagittaria or Otaheite. — Island of Handsome People. — Taumaco. — Information received from the Natives. — He discovers Australia del Espiritu Santo. — His Exultation. — He applies to the King. — His Death. — Discoveries of Torres. — He coasts New Guinea. — New Holland seen. — Expedition of Spilbergen. — Account of the Patagonians. — His Success. — Voyage of Schouten and Le Maire. — Its Origin. — Discovery of Cape Horn. — Tyranny of the Dutch East India Company. — The Nodals survey Tierra del Fuego, and complete the Circumnavigation of South America. - - - - 258

CHAP. XVIII.

VOYAGES IN THE PACIFIC, AND DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA.

The Straits of Anian. — Discoveries ascribed to Urdaneta. — Depositions of Ladrillero and Martin Chack. — Fabulous Voyage of Maldonado. — Expedition of Juan de Fuca. — Vindication of his Voyage. — Voyage of De Fonte. — He discovers the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. — Enters Lake Velasco. — Proceeds to Lake Belle. — Descends a River. — Arrives at the Atlantic. — Bernardo explores the Sea of Tatary. — Viscayno surveys California. — Aguilar arrives at the River of Quivira. — Secrecy of the Spaniards. — First Discovery of New Holland. — Voyage of Hertoge. — Edels, De Nuytz, and Carpenter. — New Holland known early to the Portuguese. — Expedition of Abel Tasman — He discovers Van Diemen's

Land. — Arrives at New Zealand. — Driven away by the Natives. — He finds the Friendly Islands. — Amsterdam Island. — Rotterdam. — Kindly received by the Natives. — Dangerous Shoals. — Tasman returns by New Guinea. - - - - - - Page 279

CHAP. XIX.

EXPEDITIONS OF THE BUCCANEERS IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

Rise of the Buccaneers. — Oppressive Government of the Spaniards. — The Cruisers supply themselves with the Cattle of Cuba. — Carib Mode of preparing the Flesh. — The Name of the Buccaneers. — Their Customs. — Settlement of St. Christopher's. — The Buccaneers seize Tortuga. — Elect a Chief. — Exploits of Henry Morgan. — He takes Porto Bello. — Marches to Panama. — The Buccaneers embark on the South Sea. — Their Adventures. — Lose a rich Prize through Ignorance. — Leave William the *Indian* on Juan Fernandez. — They return round Cape Horn. — The Buccaneers under Davis. — Dampier returns home in the Cygnet. — The Flying Proas. — Reception of the Buccaneers at Mindanao. — The Five Islands. — The Natives of New Holland described. — Wreck of the Cygnet. — Dampier sent on Discovery. — Coasts New Holland. — Rosemary Island. — Proceeds to New Guinea. — Discovers a Strait. — New Britannia. — Homeward Voyage. — The Roebuck wrecked at Ascension Island. — Return of Dampier. - - - 298

CHAP. XX.

VOYAGES OF PRIVATEERS AND OTHERS TO THE SOUTH SEA.

Privateers under Dampier. — Discords in the Expedition. — Stradling and Dampier separate. — Alexander Selkirk left on Juan Fernandez. — Fate of Stradling. — Clipperton leaves Dampier. — He crosses the Pacific Ocean *in a small Bark*. — *Dampier deserted by Funnel and others*. — His Adversity. — He prevails on the Merchants to equip another Expedition. — Voyage of Woodes Rogers. — Arrival at Juan Fernandez. — Adventures of Alexander Selkirk on *that* Island. — Success of Rogers. — Unfortunate Voyages of Shelvocke and Clipperton. — French Privateers. — Their rapid Increase. — The Dutch. — Roggewein's Expedition. — Belgia Austral. — Easter Island. — Dangerous Shoals. — Verquikkung Island. — Disputes between Great Britain and Spain. — Anson's Expedition. — His Squadron manned by Invalids. — Unhappy Consequences of that Measure. — Voyage round Cape Horn. — Distress of the Ships. — The Acapulco Galleon taken. — Anson returns. — Fate of the other Ships. - - - - - - - 316

CHAP. XXI.

DISCOVERIES OF THE RUSSIANS.

First Intercourse between Russia and Siberia. — The Promyshleni. — Trade carried on by Strogonoff. — Adventures of Yermac. — He defeats Kutcham Khan. — Becomes Master of Siberia. — Offers his Dominions to the Czar. — His Proposals well received. — Yermac defeated and slain. — Siberia lost. — Recovered by the Russians. — They approach the Amur. — Ex-

pedition of Pojarkof. — First Collision with the Chinese. — Hostilities between the two Empires. — Treaty of Nerchintsk. — Russian Embassy to Pekin. — Misconduct of the Russians. — They are expelled from China. — Treaty of Kiachta. — Intelligence obtained by Michael Staduchin. — The Tshuktzki discovered. — Remarkable Voyage of Simoen Deshniew. — He passes from the Icy Sea to Behring's Straits. — Suffers Shipwreck. — Establishes a Trade on the Coast. — Fate of his Companions. — Conquest of Kamtschatka. — Taras Staduchin. — Expedition of Popow against the Tshuktzki. — He receives Intelligence respecting America. Page 329

CHAP. XXII.

DISCOVERIES OF THE RUSSIANS.

Desire of Russia to communicate with America. — Expedition designed by the Czar Peter. — His Instructions. — First Voyage of Behring. — Its Result. — America marked in Russian Maps. — Expedition of Schestakof. — His Fate. — Extraordinary March of Paulutski. — Voyage of Krupishef. — He discovers America. — Effects of the Discovery. — Attempts to navigate the Icy Sea. — Japanese Vessel wrecked on Kamtschatka. — Spangberg visits Yedzo. — Behaviour of the Japanese to Walton. — Second Voyage of Behring and Tschirikof. — They are separated. — Behring reaches America. — Intercourse with the Natives. — Distress of the Russians. — The Ship cast away. — They Winter on a desert Island. — Death of Behring. — The Remains of his Company escape. — Voyage of Tschirikof. — Discovery of the Aleutian Islands. — Settlements of the Russians. — Conclusion. - - - - - 343

THE HISTORY

OF

MARITIME AND INLAND DISCOVERY.

BOOK IV.

MODERN VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY, FROM COLUMBUS TO CAPTAIN COOK.

CHAP. I.

COLUMBUS.

SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS. — GENERAL ENTHUSIASM IN HIS FAVOUR. — ARRIVES AT THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS. — APPROACHES HISPANIOLA. — FINDS THE FORT DESTROYED. — FATE OF THE SPANIARDS WHO HAD REMAINED. — THE CITY OF ISABELLA FOUNDED. — COLUMBUS PURSUES HIS VOYAGE TO THE WEST. — DISCOVERS JAMAICA. — SUPPOSES CUBA TO BE A PART OF ASIA. — RETURNS TO HISPANIOLA IN BROKEN HEALTH. — CONFUSION OF AFFAIRS. — ARRIVAL OF BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS. — COMPLAINTS SENT HOME. — JUAN DE AGUADO APPOINTED COMMISSIONER. — COLUMBUS RETURNS TO SPAIN. — WELL RECEIVED. — HIS THIRD VOYAGE. — DISCOVERS THE AMERICAN CONTINENT. — STATE OF THE COLONY AT ST. DOMINGO. — BOBADILLA APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — HE SENDS HOME COLUMBUS IN CHAINS. — PUBLIC FEELING TOWARDS THE ADMIRAL. — OVANDO SUPERSEDES BOBADILLA.

THE grand discovery made by Columbus caused a general transport of joy throughout Europe, and filled the popular mind with sanguine anticipations. He was im-

mediately considered as one marked out by destiny for great achievements. The voyage across the ocean, under his auspices, was no longer looked upon with mistrust or gloomy bodings; it was regarded, on the contrary as conducting to certain distinction and unbounded riches. The honours heaped on the admiral by his grateful sovereigns, as well as the specimens of gold and rare productions which he had brought from the newly-discovered countries, all operated as incentives to the bold and the ambitious, the covetous and the needy. After the court had resolved to furnish the previous expedition, the greatest difficulty had been experienced in equipping three small vessels. That task had been imposed on the port of Palos, a place of some importance in Andalusia; but although sought to be enforced by magisterial authority, yet so many difficulties arose from the disinclination of the people to embark in what they considered a desperate enterprise, that the requisition might perhaps have never been effectually complied with, had it not been for the personal influence of the Pinzons. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the eldest of the family, was a person of some consideration in this maritime district. His reputation as an able navigator, no less than his affluent circumstances, procured him the regard and deference of his neighbours. He engaged heartily in the enterprise of Columbus, advanced money, provided the ships, and, what was of greater importance, embarked himself with his two brothers to share in all the toils and peril of the expedition. In an unlucky hour he swerved from the line of rectitude and forgot his duty to the admiral: the painful consciousness of having done what was unworthy of him, aggravated his bodily disease, and hastened his death. But the unhappy instability of conduct which contributed to embitter the last moments of this brave man's life, must not lead us to forget the habitual generosity of his character.

When Columbus prepared to embark on his second voyage, no difficulty was found in equipping the ex-

pedition. The public favour, of which he was now the object, rendered every exertion easy. A fleet of seventeen vessels, three being ships of burden, the remainder caravels, was quickly fitted out; and about fifteen hundred persons, many of whom were volunteers, eager to gather in the new world the first harvest of glory and of gold, embarked full of hope and animation.

On the twenty-fifth of September, as the sun rose, the fleet hoisted sail, and stood out of the bay of Cadiz. This appears to have been one of the happiest moments in the life of Columbus. When he first descried the land of Guanahani, the sensations of delight, the sentiments of gratitude, and conscious pride of having earned by his courage, sagacity and perseverance, rank, fortune, and an immortal name, must have filled his bosom with sensations the most powerful and exalting of which human nature is susceptible; but the ocean still gaped between him and the immortality for which he sighed; his glorious task was but imperfectly achieved until he had returned and communicated his discoveries to the world. But now he found himself at the head of a considerable fleet; his merits had been duly appreciated; he was cheered by the applauses of Europe, and the flattering kindness of his sovereigns; he was confirmed in the possession of those titles on which he seems to have laid so much stress; and what perhaps must have gratified him still more, he no longer prosecuted a career opposed to the current of vulgar opinion; the public enthusiasm was now enlisted in his cause, and flattered, with new-born ardour, the darling speculation of his life. Yet the motives which impelled so many to embark under the guidance of Columbus were of a nature essentially different from the enthusiasm which fired his own breast. The principle of dissociation soon developed itself, and harassed with unceasing vexations the remainder of the life of that great man.

The admiral on this occasion steered for the Cape Verd islands, intending to pursue a course to the south of that held in his former voyage. On the thirteenth

of October the island of Ferro disappeared from view; favourable breezes wafted the fleet gently towards the west; and on the second of November an island was descried, to which the name of Dominica was given from the circumstance of its being discovered on a Sunday. Columbus had now an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Caribs, that fierce nation, of which the unwarlike inhabitants of Hispaniola had given him such terrific accounts. While the fleet passed along the Antilles or Windward Islands, the Spaniards had many rencounters with the natives, in which they experienced their hardihood and obstinate courage. The women fought as desperately as the men, and when driven from their canoes into the water, still maintained the combat as they clove their way through the boisterous element. At Guadaloupe the Spaniards saw, for the first time, that delicious fruit the anana or pine apple; they also beheld with horror human limbs roasting at the fire, or hanging up as provision for future festivals. This appalling spectacle, however, did not abate their courage so as to prevent them from taking captive some of the warlike Caribs, whom they carried with them to Hispaniola, where they arrived on the twenty-second of November.

On approaching that part of the coast where the fort of Navidad had been established, the Spaniards on board the fleet watched anxiously for the welcoming signals of their countrymen who had remained upon the island. But the dreary silence that reigned along the shore boded something disastrous, and filled them with apprehensions. No canoes were seen paddling round the ships: the natives, so kind and attentive to the Spaniards in their former visit, now kept aloof; but the cause of this mysterious coolness was easily conjectured, when the fort of Navidad was found reduced to ashes, and circumstances traced which left no doubt that the garrison had been destroyed in warfare with the Indians.

The melancholy fate of the first settlers in Hispaniola threw a gloomy damp over the spirits of the newly

arrived adventurers, and a provident mind might have seen in their destruction a portentous indication of future calamities. As soon as some intercourse could be established with the natives, it was ascertained that the admiral had hardly disappeared from the coast, when the garrison of the fort threw off all subordination, and abandoned themselves to the most insolent licentiousness in their treatment of the natives. This simple people therefore soon ceased to regard them with awe and reverence as a superior order of beings; and from the heedless excesses of which the Spaniards were guilty, it was found as easy as it was necessary to destroy them. The misconduct of the colonists themselves was the most instructive part of the tragical story. In order to avoid scenes so likely to make sinister impressions, Columbus resolved to choose another situation for his new settlement; and selected for this purpose a plain bordering on a good haven, at no great distance from the mountain of Cibao, which was reported to contain numerous gold mines. Here he founded the city of Isabella, so called from his royal mistress. The public buildings, such as the church and magazine of the new city, were of stone; the rest were hastily constructed of reeds, plaster, and whatever materials could be most easily procured.

After having explored in several directions the interior of the country, chiefly with a view to discover the mines of gold and other precious metals, and having taken such measures as seemed best fitted to ensure the valuable friendship of the Indians, and to infuse a spirit of order and activity in the infant colony, Columbus prepared to set out on his voyage of discovery towards the west. With this view he appointed to hold the reins of government during his absence a council or junto, of which his brother Don Diego was the chief. Matters being thus arranged, he set sail on the twenty-fourth of April, 1494, in three small vessels. His object was to examine the coast of Cuba, from the point where his researches had terminated on his first voyage, and to proceed westward as far as possible

along that land which he firmly believed to be a part of the continent of Asia.

In five days the admiral reached the eastern extremity of Cuba, at present known by the name of Cape M[illegible], whence he directed his course along the southern shore. Wherever the ships stopped, the natives came off in their canoes, bearing fruits and other provisions to their wondrous visitors, whom they beheld with astonishment and delight. When questioned respecting gold, they signified by gestures, that it was found in abundance in a great country to the south. This gave a new direction to the route of Columbus: on the 3d of May he stood towards the south, and in a short time the blue summits of Jamaica rose into view. On approaching this fine island, the Spaniards were filled with admiration at its luxuriant shores, its picturesque diversity of outline, and its waving groves of pimento. Its inhabitants appeared to be more warlike and ingenious than those of Cuba or Hispaniola. Their canoes displayed much art in their construction, and were elegantly carved: some of them, hollowed out of a single tree, measured above ninety feet in length.

The hopes of finding gold here, however, were disappointed; and Columbus, with the gratification of having added another noble island to the list of those already discovered by him, returned to his former course along the coast of Cuba. Here, as he pursued his voyage to the West, he fell in with a cluster of small islands, some bare and rocky, while others were clothed with waving trees, and all the richness of tropical vegetation. The birds, too, and the fishes, as well as the trees and flowers, shone with all that brilliancy of hue which nature delights so much to display in tropical climates. The heated imagination of Columbus eagerly embraced the belief that he had at length reached that archipelago of India of which Mandeville and Marco Polo had given such glowing descriptions. The natives also informed him, that towards the west there was a great country called *Mangon*, in which the people wore clothing,

This he supposed to be the *Mangi* of the Venetian traveller. He persevered, accordingly, in steering westward, hoping that he might succeed in circumnavigating the globe, and return to Europe by the lately discovered passage round Africa: but the difficult navigation which he had pursued along an intricate coast had exhausted the spirits of his crews; the ships were also in a crazy and disabled state, so that it was absolutely impossible, for the present, to prosecute the voyage any further.

Columbus, however, would not relinquish his favourite project of western discovery, until every individual on board of his fleet signed a paper, expressing the positive belief that Cuba was a continent, and a part of India. Fernan Perez de Lima, the secretary of the expedition, attended by four witnesses, went from ship to ship to receive the names of those who assented to the admiral's opinion, and to convince those who still remained in doubt. This singular document is still in existence.* Had the voyage been continued two or three days longer, the western extremity of the island would have been reached, and the truth revealed. On the voyage homeward the fleet again made Jamaica, and steered along the southern shores of that island. It then stood over for the southern coast of Hispaniola, where it had to struggle with adverse winds and a succession of violent tempests. At length the weather moderated, and Columbus stood out to sea with the intention of running eastward, so as to complete his survey of the Caribbee islands. But the unusual hardships which he had lately endured completely overpowered his naturally strong constitution. When the moment of repose arrived, his spirits flagged, and he sunk beneath the accumulated weight of toil, broken rest, and anxiety of mind. He lay in a deep lethargy, which led his crew to believe that his dissolution was not far off, and in this state of insensibility he was brought back to the harbour of Isabella.

* Muñoz. *Hist. del Nuevo Mundo*, p. 217. Navarrete. *Colleccion de los Viages*, &c. tom. ii. p. 148.

A short time after Columbus had set out on his voyage to Cuba, his brother Bartholomew arrived at the new colony; and now, when the admiral returned exhausted in spirits, and worn out with bodily fatigue, this fortunate circumstance contributed not a little to the restoration of his health. Bartholomew Columbus was a man of undaunted courage, possessing an active spirit and great practical talents; he was also an able and experienced mariner, and is supposed to have accompanied Bartholomew Diaz in the celebrated voyage in which the Cape of Good Hope was discovered. The aid of such a friend was now become particularly necessary to the admiral, from the disturbed state of the colony; and he accordingly invested his brother with the powers and title of adelantado, or lieutenant-governor. During his absence the affairs of the new settlement had run into the most lamentable confusion. The greater number of those who accompanied Columbus from Spain were greedy adventurers, who expected to amass unbounded wealth with little or no toil, in a region which they were taught to believe was the grand repository of nature's gifts. But when they experienced some of those hardships which always attend the establishment of a colony in a new climate, their spirits sunk from the extreme of sanguine expectation, to that of utter despondency. They found that considerable exertion was necessary to procure even subsistence; and in the bitterness of their disappointment, they accused Columbus as the author of all their calamities. The general discontent was fomented, as is usually the case, not by those who suffered most, but by the most malignant and restless spirits. The disorder rose to such a pitch, that the insurgents seized on some vessels in the harbour and set sail for Spain. Among these seceders was Friar Boyle, a Franciscan monk, the first apostle to the West Indies, who found means to diffuse through the court his complaints against the administration of Columbus. The president of the council of the Indies, Fonseca, bishop of Badajos, a determined enemy of the admiral, countenanced the

friar's accusations, and, in consequence, a commissioner was sent out to report on the state of the colony. This commissioner, Juan de Aguado, was a creature of the party opposed to the admiral; and as he collected the materials of his report in the evident spirit of hostility, Columbus deemed it advisable to accompany him on his return to Spain, in order to counteract the force of his misrepresentations.

When Columbus made his appearance at the court of Spain, he was received with distinguished favour. His frank exposition of the disordered state of the colony, his manifest solicitude for its welfare, and his just views with respect to its future management, restored him at once to the full confidence of his sovereigns, and cleared away all the aspersions of his enemies. Ships were despatched to Hispaniola, with fresh supplies of men and provisions; but the revenues of Spain were at this time so much exhausted by the altercations of European politics, that two years elapsed before an armament could be fitted out to carry back the admiral himself.

At length, on the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus set sail with a fleet of six vessels, on his third voyage of discovery. In his second voyage he had steered a more southerly course than in his first, and fell in with a more steady current of favourable winds: he now ventured to proceed still farther to the south, so as to lose no opportunity of extending his experience. From the Cape Verd islands he steered south-west, until he approached within five degrees of the equator. Here the ships were becalmed; and the effects of the intense heat were so violent, as to bring to mind the fable of a torrid zone made uninhabitable by the scorching rays of a direct sun. The stifling glow of the atmosphere was so oppressive and enervating, that it was found necessary, after a few days, to turn towards the north-west; and the ships had not proceeded far in this direction, when they fell in with fresh breezes, a genial temperature, and a clear sky. On the 31st of July land was seen ahead. Three peaks were descried just emerging from the hori-

zon, and on a nearer approach were found to be united at their base. From this circumstance Columbus gave the island the name of *La Trinidad*, or the Trinity.

Sailing to the south and west of this island, he entered the great gulf of Paria, and saw land extending to the south as far as the eye could reach. At first he imagined that he had arrived on the coast of some great island; but the sudden swells of the sea within the gulf, and the rapid current running through it towards the north, soon led him to form a different conclusion. He argued, with equal boldness and sagacity, that these phenomena could only arise from some great river flowing into the sea through the low tracts which bounded his view to the south, and having its source in great mountains, situated at an immense distance, and probably beneath the equator. The river whose existence he thus detected was the Orinoco. He remarked, with astonishment, the luxuriance of the country, the mild temperature of the air, and fair complexions of the inhabitants, when compared with the regions of Africa situated under the same parallel of latitude. Uniting observations made in a transport of delight with theories framed under the influence of enthusiasm, he supposed that he had now approached the region of the terrestrial paradise, and that the great river which poured its ample waters into the gulf of Paria descended from the garden of Eden. His spirits were elated also by the quantity of pearls which he here collected from the natives. The ships worked their way with difficulty through the Dragon's Mouth, as the narrow channel is called that runs between the promontory of Paria and the isle of Trinidad; and after following the continent to the west as far as Margarita, they stood away direct for Hispaniola.

When Columbus arrived at the river Ozema, where his brother the adelantado had founded by his order the town of St. Domingo, he found the colony in the wildest state of anarchy and confusion. All subordination was at an end; the turbulent had taken up arms; and, though often defeated by the adelantado, were yet able

to maintain themselves in a posture of defiance. The admiral dreaded the consequences of a prolonged civil war, both to the settlement and to his own character. He preferred gaining over the disaffected by concessions, to the hazardous employment of force in reducing them to obedience. By reinstating Roldan, the leader of the malecontents, in his office of alcalde-mayor or chief justice, and by other conciliatory measures, he succeeded in suppressing the flames of open insurrection. But the embers of civil discord still glowed within. The factious commotions that had raged so long assumed but a deceptious appearance of tranquillity. Every ship that sailed for Spain carried home fresh murmurs and complaints. The same despatches from the admiral that conveyed the intelligence of his new discoveries, contained also an account of insurrections and of hostilities with the Indians which seemed to threaten the existence of the colony. The court, therefore, resolved to send out an officer provisionally authorised to assume the chief power, and restore order to the distracted settlement. The person selected for this office was Don Francisco de Bobadilla, a gentleman of the royal household. He appears to have been a man of weak character and impetuous temper; and as his interest seemed to recommend the utmost use of the powers confided to his discretion, he did not hesitate, on his arrival at Hispaniola, to treat Columbus at once as a delinquent; to arrest him, and load him with irons. This great man was so deeply affected by the indignities wantonly heaped upon him, and by the numerous expressions of hatred that assailed him, that he even began to entertain apprehensions for his life. When Vallejo, who commanded the vessel in which he was to embark for Spain, entered his prison in order to conduct him to the harbour, Columbus, dreading that they were about to lead him out to the scaffold, cried out in a tone of dejection and despair, "Vallejo, whither are you going to take me?" and it was not till that brave officer had repeated his assurance that they were preparing to embark, that

the admiral regained his composure. When arrived on board, he would not allow his fetters to be taken off; but, being sensible of his great merits, and sure of future fame, he fondly wore those affecting testimonies of his vicissitudes, and even expressed a wish that when he died they might be hung upon his tomb.

When it was known in Spain that Columbus was brought home a prisoner and in bonds, the public indignation was loudly expressed against those who advised this unworthy treatment of a man so eminently distinguished by his services. The needless severities used towards him betrayed the injustice of his enemies, and the wantonness of faction. The generous minded Isabella sympathised with his wounded heart; and Ferdinand, however coldly disposed towards the admiral, was obliged to give way to the tide of popular feeling. Columbus and his brothers were ordered to be immediately set at liberty, and were received at court with every mark of distinction. The admiral's vindication of his conduct was listened to with deference and apparent satisfaction. Bobadilla, whose arrogant and headstrong temper had done him so much wrong, and still kept alive the factions of the colony, was immediately recalled. But though Columbus frequently and anxiously entreated to be reinstated in his government, his suit was constantly evaded; and Don Nicholas de Ovando, a cavalier of eminent accomplishments and well versed in business, was chosen to succeed Bobadilla.

CHAP. II.

COLUMBUS AND AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS. — OCCURRENCES AT HISPANIOLA. — FATE OF BOBADILLA. — COLUMBUS REACHES HONDURAS. — RECEIVES ACCOUNTS RESPECTING MEXICO. — EXAMINES THE COAST OF VERAGUA. — SUFFERINGS OF THE EXPEDITION. — SHIPWRECK ON THE COAST OF JAMAICA. — BOLD VOYAGE TO HISPANIOLA IN A CANOE. — DISTRESS OF COLUMBUS. — INHUMAN CONDUCT OF OVANDO. — THE ADMIRAL AT LENGTH RELIEVED. — RETURNS TO SPAIN. — HIS DEATH. — HONOURS PAID TO HIS ASHES. — MERIT OF HIS DISCOVERY. — EXPRESSIONS OF THE CLASSIC WRITERS SUPPOSED TO RELATE TO AMERICA. — CLAIMS OF THE DIEPPOIS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD. — OF THE BASQUES AND BRETONS. — ALONZO DE HOJEDA FOLLOWS IN THE TRACK OF THE ADMIRAL. — AMERIGO VESPUCCI FALSELY CLAIMS THE HONOUR OF HAVING DISCOVERED THE CONTINENT. — TESTIMONY OF THE PILOTS. — CAUSES WHICH ENABLED HIM TO IMPOSE HIS NAME ON THE NEW WORLD.

WHILE the ambition of Columbus was in this manner thwarted, and his rightful authority superseded, in the very countries which he had discovered, his spirit did not languish in inactivity, nor did he relinquish his former purpose of penetrating by the west to those rich countries of India described by Marco Polo and other travellers. He begged to be placed again at the head of an expedition; and events had recently occurred which added weight to his entreaties. About a year before his return from Hispaniola, Vasco de Gama had arrived at Lisbon, after accomplishing the voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and had brought back such an account of those rich and populous countries as inflamed the desire of every European state to open an intercourse with them. The reputation of Columbus as a learned and sagacious cosmographer was now established beyond dispute, and he offered to conduct a fleet to the Indies by a shorter route than that followed by De Gama. He had traced the coast of Caraccas a long way to the west; he

had also surveyed the southern shores of Cuba, which he supposed to be the continent, in the same direction; he therefore concluded that the ocean extended between those limits, and that the strait leading into those Indian seas which had been visited by the Portuguese lay somewhere in the direction of Darien. This conjecture, although erroneous, exhibits abundant proof of a penetrating spirit.

The expedition which Columbus commanded in his fourth voyage of discovery consisted of only four small caravels, the largest of them not exceeding seventy tons burden. With this weak armament he intended to penetrate the mysteries of the Western Ocean, and to complete the circumnavigation of the globe. He set sail from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1502, and reached Martinique, one of the Windward Islands, on the 15th of June. He was advised, in a kind letter from the king and queen, not to touch at Hispaniola, where his presence might revive the commotions which had grown to so alarming a pitch under his administration. But, as one of his vessels was a heavy sailer, he was desirous to substitute another in its stead by exchange or purchase, and with that view steered for St. Domingo, hoping that the exigency of the case would excuse his neglect of the royal intimation. The wish of the sovereigns, however, was already known in the island, and Columbus was not permitted to enter the harbour. His experience enabled him to foresee the approach of a violent tempest; and as a large fleet was at the time about to set sail for Spain, he warned Ovando of the danger, and advised him to delay its departure. But his counsel was received with mistrust, as the officious suggestion of a secret enemy, and was accordingly disregarded. The fleet, however, had hardly put to sea when a furious hurricane came on, by which the greater part of it was destroyed. The ship in which Bobadilla and his ill-acquired treasures were embarked was among those that sunk: the only vessel that completely withstood the gale, and was able to continue her voyage to

Spain, was a small caravel containing the property which Columbus had left on the island. This circumstance was ascribed, by the friends of the admiral, to a direct interposition of Providence in his favour, while his enemies accused him of employing magic arts to awaken the fury of the elements. As his skill in providing against danger was equal to his foresight, he had taken such measures as enabled his own small squadron to withstand the violence of the storm in which his enemies perished.

As soon as the weather permitted, Columbus stood out to sea, to prosecute his voyage of discovery. The currents carried him to Cuba, whence he steered south-west till he reached the island of Guanaga, on the coast of Honduras. Here he found among the inhabitants proofs of a higher degree of civilisation than had been as yet observed among the natives of the New World. They had utensils of copper, and wore cotton garments curiously worked and dyed with a variety of colours. Among the animals of this coast, he was particularly struck with the pecary or American pig, and the monkeys with prehensile tails; which are also peculiar to the new continent. A cacique gave him three pigs of so terrible an appearance, he says, "that they would frighten an Irish dog."* One of these animals being thrown to a wounded monkey, the latter seized the snout of the pecary with its tail in such a manner as to bind its jaws firmly together, and then clawed unmercifully its helpless adversary. "This appeared to me so strange," says Columbus, in his letter to the king and queen, "that I thought it fit to write it down for the information of your majesties." The natives gave him to understand that to the west there lay a country remarkable for its arts, riches, and population. This he supposed to be Cathay, and it appeared to him not at all surprising that the sea-coast of so great an empire should be inhabited by poor fishermen, for such he deemed the savages. Neglecting these indications, which would have led him

* He alludes to the Irish greyhound; a species now extinct.

to the discovery of Mexico, Columbus persevered in search of that strait which he supposed to be situated in a more southern latitude. He continued his course, accordingly, along the whole extent of coast from Truxillo, in Honduras, to the Gulf of Darien, not terminating his examination till he arrived at a point which had been already reached by the successful navigator Bastidas, from the East. In this coasting voyage Columbus suffered much from adverse winds, conflicting currents, and the hostilities of the natives. An attempt to make a settlement on the coast of Veragua was defeated by the desperate courage of the latter. Several of the Spaniards lost their lives; and it required all the energy and strength of the adelantado to rescue the remainder from destruction. Anxiety and fatigue preyed so much on the constitution of the admiral, that he was scarcely able to appear on deck. The ships of his small squadron stood so much in need of repair that it was with difficulty they were navigated or even kept afloat. But this was not all: as they approached the coast of Cuba a violent storm arose; the shattered vessels were no longer in a state to bear the tossing of a tempestuous sea; their foundering was inevitable; and the only means of preventing their being swallowed up in the ocean was to run them aground on the shore of Jamaica. This was fortunately done: the wrecks were immediately visited by the canoes of the natives, who hospitably supplied the Spaniards with provisions. The adelantado took measures to maintain order among the murmuring crews, while the admiral lay completely broken by the united afflictions of bodily pain and mental suffering.

In a short time the Indians grew weary of supplying the wants of the strangers, whom they perceived to be now established as permanent guests among them. Provisions began to fall short, and the dread of famine inflamed the mutinous spirit already prevailing among the crews, part of whom threw off all obedience to the admiral, and roved through the island committing the

most wanton violence on the simple and inoffensive inhabitants. The destruction of the Spaniards by want, the enmity of the natives, and their own dissensions, seemed to be at no great distance. In this lamentable state of affairs, Diego Mendez and Fiesco a Genoese, undertook to cross over to Hispaniola in a canoe purchased from the Indians, and to acquaint the governor with the distressed situation of Columbus and his companions. The hardy enterprize succeeded, and the courageous mariners reached Hispaniola after a voyage of four days. But Ovando attended more to the suggestions of jealousy and hatred than to the calls of humanity, and purposely delayed equipping a vessel for the relief of Columbus. He sent, however, a small vessel with a letter of compliment to the admiral, and for the purpose, perhaps, of observing his condition. The appearance of a friendly sail approaching raised the liveliest emotions of joy among the shipwrecked mariners; but what was their dejection and despair when they saw it standing out again to sea, without offering them the least relief! Columbus dissembled his mortification at this wanton insult: he dexterously gave such a colouring to the circumstance as kept alive the hopes of his companions; and by foretelling an eclipse of the moon, he opportunely turned to account the ignorance and superstition of the natives, and procured from them an abundant supply of provisions.

In the mean time the sufferings of so great a man excited a general sympathy among the colonists at St. Domingo; and the conduct of the governor in delaying to rescue him from his perilous situation was loudly and severely censured. The unprincipled and politic Ovando, though he cared little for the life of Columbus, was careful to preserve his own popularity. A vessel was therefore despatched to carry off the admiral and his faithful companions, after they had languished in the wrecks a whole year of painful anxiety.

Columbus was received at St. Domingo with every

manifestation of joy and enthusiasm. His misfortunes had allayed the rancour of popular hostility; and no ungenerous revival of past altercations was allowed to aggravate the present distresses of so eminent a man. Even Ovando, while he wounded the feelings of the admiral by various harsh and unjust proceedings, treated him studiously with the show of courtesy and outward respect. As soon as the health of Columbus was sufficiently restored to enable him to bear the hardships of another voyage, he set sail for Spain, where he arrived on the seventh of November, 1504. Here terminated the labours of this great navigator. In his third voyage he had discovered the continent of America, and in his fourth and last expedition he had touched at some of the richest countries of that favoured region, and had received alluring intelligence respecting the wealth of Mexico, which was destined at no distant period to pour its treasures into Spain. Notwithstanding his long services and the ample dignities which he had stipulated for in his contract with the crown, he was now in a state of extreme poverty. His patroness, queen Isabella, was dead, and Ferdinand, habitually slow to hearken to the voice of justice, unless seconded by that of interest, paid but little attention to his claims. In vain Columbus solicited to be restored to his authority as viceroy of the Indies. The king endeavoured to elude by delay the suit with which he was unwilling to comply. These politic evasions hastened, perhaps, the event which they had in view. The bodily infirmities of Columbus were increased by the pangs of disappointment, and he expired at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, 1506. Among other provisions in his will, he enjoined that his eldest son Diego, or whoever might succeed to his dignities and titles, should simply sign himself "the Admiral," so as to keep always in view the great founder of the family. The high offices, the exercise of which was refused to Columbus, were afterwards confirmed, with a few slight modifications, to his eldest son Diego, who, by marrying a niece of the duke

of Alva, was admitted to an alliance with the first nobility of Spain.

The partiality with which mankind are naturally disposed to regard a distinguished character has ascribed all the disappointments which troubled the latter days of Columbus to such an unlucky union of malice and selfishness in all with whom he had to deal, as must necessarily excite the mistrust of those who are unwilling to sacrifice their esteem for human nature in order to exalt a favourite hero. The enthusiastic temper of Columbus, though well calculated to achieve an extraordinary enterprise, was very ill adapted to the delicate task of governing an infant colony. His dreams of aggrandisement were of the most extravagant nature. On concluding his capitulation with Ferdinand and Isabella, he made a vow to lead an army of fifty thousand men to the Holy Land within seven years after his conquest of the Indies, and to rescue Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. Gold was the immediate object of his search in the New World; and it is surprising with what eager credulity he listened to every account which flattered his hopes of acquiring sudden riches. The constitutional ardour of his mind was never cooled by hardship or reverses; and the sanguine confidence by which he, in the first instance, attracted others to his schemes, became a principle of repulsion as soon as their eyes were opened to the reality of their situation. The pertinacity with which he clung to his delusions exposed him to the bitter derision of those whose simplicity he had misled, and whose repinings he treated with the haughty severity of a confirmed visionary. His discontented followers had, probably, good reason to accuse him of inordinate rigour; for enthusiasm too often attempts to eradicate vices by violent means, without awaiting the growth of virtuous habits. When Ferdinand and Isabella withheld from Columbus the government of Hispaniola, it does not appear that they wished to deprive him of any thing but the power which he was unqualified to wield. They even satisfied him,

at first, of the expediency of his retiring from a scene, where the hostility to his person was so violent as even to threaten his life. The queen, though her gentle nature was shocked by his scheme to reduce the Caribs to slavery, yet continued, while she lived, to treat the admiral with the favour due to his genius and eminent services. After her death, Columbus still experienced from Ferdinand as many marks of consideration, perhaps, as an enthusiast could expect from a cool and calculating prince.*

The body of Columbus, at first interred in the church of Santa Maria in Valladolid, was afterwards removed to Seville. In the year 1536, however, his remains were transported to Hispaniola, and entombed near the grand altar in the cathedral of St. Domingo. Here they remained till the cession of Hispaniola to the French in 1795. On that occasion the Spaniards, unwilling to abandon relics so gloriously associated with the most brilliant period of Spanish history, determined to remove them to the island of Cuba. No solemnity of religion, no pomp of military display, was omitted, that could do honour to the memory of the illustrious dead. The ashes of Columbus were deposited in the cathedral of Havanna; and this last tribute of attention paid to his fame, after a lapse of three centuries, displayed a grateful and ardent enthusiasm, not inferior to that, perhaps, which greeted him on his return from the discovery of the New World.

The posterity of Columbus long enjoyed the wealth and honours which prompted his ambition. His son, Don Diego, in prosecuting his claims, was obliged to maintain a tedious lawsuit with the royal fiscal, the object of which was to ascertain precisely what portions of the New World had been discovered by his father. Don Luis, the son of Don Diego, gave up his pretensions to the viceroyalty of the Indies for the titles of Duke of Veraguas and Marquess of Jamaica: he resigned, at the same time, his claim to a tenth of all revenues in the

* Navarrete, tom. i. p. 67.

Indies for a pension of a thousand doubloons of gold. In 1608, the male line being extinct, the titles and estates of the family reverted to Don Nuño Gelves de Portogallo, who was descended from a daughter of Don Diego Columbus. Thus the dignities of 'the Admiral' passed to a branch of the noble family of Braganza. The dukes of Veraguas were, in 1712, raised to the first rank of Spanish grandees; the perspective of elevation contemplated by Christopher Columbus being thus completed. The present duke of Veraguas, however, his lineal descendant and representative, was stripped of all his property and reduced to extreme distress by the revolutions which deprived Spain of her colonies in the West Indies. That nobleman was in consequence obliged to apply to his government for indemnification. His claim has been recently admitted, and a pension of twenty-four thousand dollars has been assigned him on the revenues of Cuba and Porto Rico. *

Among all the great men who have conferred important benefits on mankind by their enterprise or ingenuity, there is not one who appears at first view to have shot more completely beyond the age in which he lived, or to have acted more independently of surrounding impulses, than Columbus. The enthusiasm which urged him to cross the ocean in search of a new world was all his own. It was also the result of mature and well directed reflection. The justness with which he combined all the various circumstances that evinced the existence of trans-Atlantic countries alone displays the vigour and comprehensiveness of his genius.

Yet the discovery of America was prepared by a long train of events. The improvement of the mariner's compass, the adoption of the astrolabe to measure altitudes at sea, the maritime boldness derived from the discoveries of the Portuguese, independent of the general rapid growth both of political energy and scientific speculation in Europe, had conducted the age in which Columbus lived to that state of maturity, when geo-

* Life of Columbus, abridged by Washington Irving, 1830. p. 557.

graphical knowledge could be no longer confined within its ancient limits, but must have necessarily extended itself over the whole surface of the globe. When Cabral, the Portuguese navigator, who conducted a fleet to the East Indies in 1500, stood far out to sea in order to avoid the adverse winds that prevail near the coast of Africa, he fell in with the coast of Brazil; so that all the enthusiasm and veteran hardihood of Columbus anticipated by only twelve years the effect of accident. This reflection, however, does not in the least derogate from the merit of Columbus; for the superiority of a social being must consist in being eminent among his fellows, and not separate from them. As long as the progress of society depends on the growth of knowledge, and not on mere hazard, so long must the speculations of the man of genius be in close connection with the intelligence of the many.

It would detract as little from his fame, if we were to suppose, with some of the learned, that America had been already visited in ancient times by Phœnician navigators, and that the obscure hints found in classic writers relative to oceanic regions were derived from their traditions. The doubtful claims of the Phœnicians to proficiency in the arts of navigation have been already examined *; and as to the traditions preserved in Greek and Latin authors, they present to the critical eye much more the general forms of mythology and speculation than the individual features of reality.

The belief in the existence of land beyond the ocean was widely diffused in antiquity; nor is it reasonable to ascribe its origin either to the fancy of Plato, or to traditions reaching beyond the date of those physical revolutions which may be supposed to have separated the old world from the new. The spherical figure of the earth, though easily detected on reflection, is by no means obvious to the vulgar eye. The supposition that the earth is an extended plain, though repugnant to reason, leaves unbounded liberty to the imagination, and

* See vol. i. chap. ix. of this work.

must have always obtained the preference with contracted observers. But as the idea of an interminable world is not easily entertained, it was natural to believe that the terrestrial habitation of man was bounded by the ocean. In order to fix limits, however, to the ocean, it was again necessary to have recourse to another solid region. Thus the rings of land and water continually alternate; the limit which reason cannot find is fixed by superstition, and a peculiarly sacred number, as in the system of the Hindoos, determines the limits of the universe. This process of speculation is so natural, that it would be surprising if the ancients had not made any allusion to regions beyond the ocean; and it appears a strange inattention to the activity of the human mind in the early stages of civilisation to mistake these hints for any thing but the offspring of primitive philosophy. *

It has been seen in a previous part of this work, that the northern nations ventured at a very early age on some bold maritime excursions; that they reached Greenland, and probably were not strangers to the adjoining coast of North America. Notwithstanding the loss of the Greenland colony, it is not likely that seas once navigated were ever utterly abandoned; and there is some reason to suspect that the fisheries of Newfoundland were frequented before the time of Columbus. The Normans and Bretons visited the same seas as early at least as 1504, or only twelve years after the first voyage of Columbus; and it is not very probable that a fishery at so great a distance should have been commenced only a few years after the discovery of the banks. The ablest geographers of the sixteenth century, such as Ortelius, Mercator, Witfliet, Pontanus, and others, looked upon it as indisputable, that the Basques of Cape Breton near Bayonne, and the other cod-fishers of the same province, had discovered Newfoundland before the time of Columbus; and they

* Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos has collected the various passages of the ancient writers, which may be supposed to have a reference to trans-Atlantic countries, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, tom. v. p. 101.

venture even to assert, that these bold navigators had penetrated as far as Canada, and that Columbus had information of their route from a Basque pilot. These opinions were chiefly grounded on traditions preserved among the fishermen of Biscay.*

There is, however, a want of clear and authentic testimony in support of those early discoveries. Don M. de Navarrete, whose authority on this point seems conclusive, is disposed to think that the Biscayans did not discover Newfoundland till 1526, and he shows that they did not frequent the banks till 1540.†

A bolder claim to the honour of discovering America has been recently advanced in favour of the inhabitants of Dieppe, who were reckoned, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, among the most expert and hardy navigators of Europe. It is said that one Cousin, an inhabitant of Dieppe, influenced by the conjectures or speculation of a townsman named Dechaliers, whom the Normans regarded as the founder of hydrographical science, undertook some voyages of great length, and discovered, in 1488, the mouth of the river of Amazons, whence he returned the following year, touching on his way homeward at the coasts of Africa. It is also stated, that one Pinçon, who commanded a small vessel in Cousin's expedition, was tried on his return, and dismissed from the service of the city, for his turbulent behaviour and disobedience to his commander. Those who credit the story of Cousin's voyage conjecture this Pinçon to have been one of that family who sailed with Columbus from the port of Palos, and perhaps the same individual who equipped an expedition in 1499, with which he directed his course to the river of Amazons. This last circumstance, united to the identity of name and resemblance of character, give to the conjecture an air of probability. Yet as the archives of Dieppe were all destroyed by fire in 1694, and no original documents relating to Cousin's voyage are at present extant, the whole

* *Diccion. Geog. Hist. de España*, por la Academia de la Historia, tom. ii. p. 313. Art. St. Sebastian.

† Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 179.

story must be regarded as apocryphal, notwithstanding the ingenuity with which the testimonies of contemporary writers are sought to be collected in its favour.*

Thus it appears that the honour of having discovered the New World is disputed with Columbus on insufficient grounds. Whatever speculative opinions may have been afloat in his time respecting the existence of trans-Atlantic countries, very little can be detracted from that originality of conception which marks his strong persuasion; and nothing at all from the boldness of his enterprise.

The number of those who ventured to follow his traces across the ocean was soon considerable; and, independent of the success or personal qualities of those daring mariners, the rapidity with which these expeditions succeeded one another deserves especial notice in the History of Maritime Discovery.

Among those who accompanied Columbus to Hispaniola in his second voyage was Alonzo de Hojeda, a young and handsome cavalier, small of stature, but possessing wonderful strength and activity of body, and with courage equal to the most desperate enterprise. He had distinguished himself in the wars with the Moors of Grenada, and exhibited before the queen some feats of personal prowess. In Hispaniola he soon became conspicuous for his boldness and dexterity, and rendered a most important service to the colony by seizing and carrying off from the midst of his people Caonabo, the Carib chief of the interior. Hojeda happened to be at the court of Spain, when intelligence arrived from Columbus respecting the discoveries made by him in his third voyage; his route along the coast of Paria, which he justly conjectured to be the continent, and the quantity of pearls he saw with the natives. Hojeda immediately conceived the design of following the traces of the admiral, so as to profit at once from the discovery; and, as he enjoyed the favour of Fonseca, his project was immediately approved of. He accordingly fitted out an

* Journ. Asiatique, tom. ix. p. 324.; and in the French translation of Navarrete, tom i. p. 343. note.

expedition of four ships, with which he reached the continent of South America, at no great distance from the equator; then keeping the coast always in view, he passed the mouths of the rivers Essequibo and Orinoco. From Margarita he steered westward, and examined the whole coast of Venezuela, as far as Cape Vela, whence he directed his course to Hispaniola.

Hojeda was accompanied in his first expedition by Amerigo Vespucci, a native of Florence, who, by affixing his name to the new continent, has surreptitiously obtained that testimony of fame which was unquestionably due to Columbus. Vespucci was a man of considerable talents and acquirements; an experienced mariner, and a good cosmographer. Some writers suppose that he attended Columbus in the first voyage of that great man to the New World; but the earliest authentic mention of him in Spain occurs in official documents of the year 1495. At that time he appears to have been an agent or partner of Berardi, a Florentine merchant, established at Seville, who was a confidential friend of Columbus, and who, from his intimacy with the admiral or on account of his great wealth, was usually commissioned by the government to equip the armaments destined for Hispaniola. From the year 1500, when Amerigo Vespucci returned from his voyage with Hojeda, to the beginning of 1505, he appears to have been engaged in the service of the king of Portugal, and during this period he may have visited the East Indies, or the coast of Brazil. He afterwards returned to Spain, where he was very favourably received; the value of his intrinsic merits, his great experience as a navigator, his commercial knowledge, and his steady conduct, being perhaps enhanced by the circumstance of his having been won from a rival court. On the death of Columbus, the king of Spain endeavoured to supply so great a loss by attaching to his service the ablest navigator of the time, and accordingly named Vespucci his chief pilot. But no enterprise of any moment resulted from this appointment; an expedition, prepared in 1507, for the discovery

of a western passage to the Spice Islands, and which was to have been entrusted to Amerigo Vespucci and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, having been abandoned in consequence of remonstrances made by the king of Portugal. Amerigo died in the service of Spain in the year 1512.

The claim of Amerigo Vespucci to the honour of having discovered the continent of the New World has been strenuously advocated by many learned men, even of the present age.* The Florentine pilot lost no time in cultivating the favour of the literary world, and in 1507 the account which he had written of his four voyages was already printed in Latin; having been previously translated into French and Spanish from the original Italian. There are many circumstances in his narrative calculated to alarm a suspicious critic, and it may be even doubted whether he ever actually performed the four voyages he describes. The date which he assigns to the commencement of his first voyage, May, 1497, is the foundation on which rests all his title as a discoverer; yet this is evidently an artful falsification. It is admitted on all hands that he accompanied Hojeda; and the first voyage of discovery made by this commander is fixed unanimously by all the Spanish writers in 1499, or a year later than the voyage in which Columbus fell in with the coast of Paria. In the tedious lawsuit which took place a few years later between the royal fiscal and Don Diego Columbus, all the circumstances of the first voyages to the New World were brought into full light by examination of the most eminent navigators alive, many of whom had been the companions of Columbus. In documents which are still in existence, Hojeda declares that he sailed in 1499, taking with him Juan de la Cosa and *Amerigo Vespucci* as pilots, and that he was the first who made a voyage of discovery *after the admiral*. He made the voyage, he says, because he had seen the drawings or maps of his discoveries which Columbus had sent home; and he adds a particular,

* Bandini, *Vita di Amerigo Vespucci*. 1745. Canovai, *Viaggi di Amer. Vesp.* 1819. Malte Brun, *Geog. Univ.* tom. i. p. 500.

which is carefully omitted in the relation of Vespucci, that *he found traces of the admiral* in the Isle of Trinidad, near the Dragon's Mouth.* In the legal proceedings above alluded to, it was proved by a hundred and nine witnesses, among whom were the Pinzons, Hojeda, Bastidas, Morales, Ledesma, and other distinguished navigators, that Christopher Columbus was the first discoverer of the West Indies, of Terra Firma, and of Darien: and it is worthy of remark, that while the grand object of this investigation was to determine the priority of discovery, no one ever thought of the claims of Amerigo Vespucci; nor was he even alluded to by any of the witnesses except Hojeda. †

Notwithstanding the groundlessness of his pretensions, the ambition of the Florentine to give his name to the New World met with flattering success so early as 1507. In a treatise of cosmography printed in that year, and prefixed to his voyages, the writer, who was probably Vespucci's countryman, remarks, "that the new continent ought to be called *America*, from its discoverer *Americus*, a man of rare ability; inasmuch as Europe and Asia derived their names from women." ‡ Thus it appears that the New World has silently and irrevocably assumed that general denomination which first appeared in print. Popular fables, and the enthusiastic dreams of Columbus, intercepted from him a portion of his glory. He fancied that he had reached the Indies, the favoured seat of luxury and wealth; and would have felt sorry, perhaps, to relinquish that favourite idea for the honour of assuming the rich blazonry of fame to which he was truly entitled, and of giving his name to a new quarter of the world. The illiberal jealousy and reserve of the court of Spain, which throws a shade over the career of all

* Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 544. † Id. pp. 583—592.

‡ *Cosmographiæ cum quatuor itineribus Americi Vesputii*, &c. printed in 1507, and again in 1509: these rare little volumes are in the library of the British Museum. The author of this treatise shows his solicitude to give Amerigo's name to the new continent by repeating the above-cited observation within the space of a few pages. May he not have been a near kinsman of the navigator, whose fame he wished to exalt? A commentary on the Sphere of Sacrobosco, written by one *Bartolomeo Vespucci*, was printed in 1508. Pinelo, Biblioteca orientale et occidentale, p. 964.

who engage in its service, has contributed not a little to the injustice with which posterity has treated that great man. Amerigo Vespucci was the first who published an account of the newly-discovered countries, and mankind has liberally repaid the information it received.*

CHAP. III.

EARLY DISCOVERIES IN AMERICA.

NAVIGATORS WHO EMULATED THE FAME OF COLUMBUS. — VINCENT YANEZ PINZON. — DISCOVERS BRAZIL. — THE RIVER OF AMAZONS. — BRINGS HOME THE FIRST OPOSSUM SEEN IN EUROPE. — VOYAGE OF BASTIDAS. — EXPLORES VENEZUELA AND CARTHAGENA. — HIS DISTRESSES. — PROVINCES AWARDED TO HIM. — POLICY OF THE SPANISH COURT. — JEALOUSY EXCITED BY THE ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE. — EXPEDITION OF PINZON AND SOLIS TO SOUTH AMERICA. — SECOND VOYAGE OF SOLIS. — ITS OBJECT. — HE REACHES THE RIVER LA PLATA. — DEVOURED BY THE SAVAGES. — EXERTIONS OF HOJEDA. — HIS EXPEDITION TO COLONISE URABA. — FINDS A RIVAL IN NICUESSA. — DEFEATED BY THE INDIANS. — BUILDS ST. SEBASTIAN. — HIS SUFFERINGS AND DEATH. — WRETCHED FATE OF NICUESSA. — BALBOA REMAINS IN DARIEN. — MARCHES ACROSS THE ISTHMUS. — DISCOVERS THE SOUTH SEA. — SUPERSEDED BY PEDRARIAS. — HIS UNHAPPY END.

THE discovery of America filled mankind with astonishment, and awakened the lively curiosity of the learned. Countries of such vast extent, and which had remained so long unknown, held out attractions to the most active propensities — the love of novelty and of gain. The ardour of hope is so much nourished by imagination, and this faculty had such full scope to expand itself in the imperfectly descried regions of the New World, that we need not be surprised at the alacrity and perseverance with which expeditions were fitted out to undertake the

* A letter of Columbus on his return from his first voyage was translated into Latin by Leander de Cosco, and printed in 1493, with the title *Epistola de Insulæ Indiæ super Gangem nuper inventis*, &c. But this evidently did not announce the discovery of a New World.

dangerous voyage across the Atlantic, and pursue the tracks of ill-requited discovery.

Yet, notwithstanding the multitude of adventurers who pressed forward in this new career of fame or fortune, the eminence of Columbus remained unobscured by rivalry; or rather, the lustre of his fame was rendered still more conspicuous by the boldness of navigators, who had almost all been his companions or disciples. Among the most distinguished of these was Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who had accompanied the admiral in his first voyage of discovery. His spirit of enterprise was roused by the intelligence that the continent was discovered; and as great confidence was reposed in his ability and experience, he found no difficulty in equipping four caravels, and in inducing some of those who had visited the coast of Paria with Columbus to embark as pilots in the expedition. Thus prepared, he sailed from Palos in the beginning of December, 1499. From the Cape Verd islands he held his course three hundred leagues towards the south-west, the pole star being still visible above the horizon. In the midst of the ocean, however, a violent tempest came on, which drove the vessels along for some hours, at an unusually rapid rate; and when the wind abated, and the clouds cleared away, so that the heavens might be observed, the seamen were astonished to find that the north pole was now completely concealed from their view, and that the starry hemisphere had changed its aspect. Unacquainted as yet with the constellations near the southern pole, and being consequently at a loss for some fixed point to guide them in their path through the seas, they became filled with superstitious terrors. Pinzon, however, persisted in his course to the south-west; and on the 20th of January, 1500, when in eight degrees of south latitude, he discovered land, to which he gave the name of *Santa Maria de la Consolaçion*. He immediately went on shore, and, with the usual formalities, took possession of the country in the name of the crown of Castile. No

inhabitants were seen here; but the Spaniards imagined that they saw footsteps and other traces of men of gigantic stature.

Thus Pinzon was the first European who crossed the line in the western seas. To the same nagivator is also unquestionably due the discovery of Brazil, which is usually assigned, however, to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a Portuguese admiral, who, while conducting a fleet to India, and standing out far to the west, in order to avoid the variable winds which prevail near the African continent, arrived unexpectedly on the same shore about three months later than Pinzon, and two degrees farther to the south. He took possession of the country for the crown of Portugal, and called it Santa Cruz, a name eventually supplanted by that of *Brazil*, which it obtained from the red dye-wood found there in great abundance.

The Spanish navigator steered northwards along the coast from Cape St. Augustin, and explored with wonder the mouths of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, which pours down, through numerous mouths, such an immense body of water, as to freshen the sea to the distance of many leagues from land. From the size of this great stream, Pinzon justly inferred the vast magnitude of the continent from which it flows. The islands near the shore were inhabited by a simple and harmless people, who generously shared with their strange visiters every thing they possessed. In return for this kindness and hospitality, a number of them were treacherously seized by the Spaniards and carried off captive. Proceeding along the shore, Pinzon passed through the strait called the Dragon's Mouth, and steered for Hispaniola. Leaving this, he encountered a dreadful storm which sunk two of his vessels, and reached Palos in the end of September, many of his people having perished, and the remainder being worn out with fatigue. Nothing was gained by this voyage but the honour of having explored four hundred leagues of coast hitherto unknown. But the mind of Pinzon was still possessed with the magnificent fancies of Columbus. He fondly thought that he

had arrived at the Indies, and brought home with him a variety of vegetable productions, which he looked upon as precious drugs and spices. About three thousand pounds' weight of dye-woods, of various colours, formed the only valuable part of his cargo. Among the specimens of strange animals which he brought with him from the New World was an individual of the opossum species, a tribe which nature has provided with the singular appendage of a pouch or bag attached close under the belly, in which the young are carried, until they acquire strength to shift for themselves. The young of the opossum which Pinzon took on board died during the voyage home; but the old one reached Spain in safety, and was sent from Seville to the court at Grenada, where it excited not a little astonishment by the novelty of its appearance. Diego de Lepe and Alonzo Velez de Mendoza followed soon after in the traces of Pinzon: they added but little to his discoveries, and were equally unsuccessful in collecting treasures.

Towards the close of the same year (1500), Roderigo de Bastidas, accompanied by the celebrated pilot Juan de la Cosa, set sail from Cadiz with two small vessels, to try his fortune in the career of discovery. Passing between the mainland and the island of Guadaloupe, he held a westerly course across the gulf of Venezuela to Cape Vela, where former discoveries in that direction had terminated. He followed the coast, however, to the west; observed the mouth of the Magdalena, the harbour of Carthagena, and entered the gulf of Uraba, round which he sailed, to Cape St. Blas: he prosecuted his examination of the coast as far as Puerto del Retrete in ten degrees north latitude; the same haven at which Columbus, a few months later, desisted from the arduous struggles of his fourth voyage of discovery. From this place, Bastidas directed his course to Jamaica, in order to repair his ships, which length of service and the attacks of the teredo worm had rendered incapable of encountering the risks of a protracted voyage. Furious gales, however, overtook him in his

passage: his frail barks seemed destined to destruction, and little hope was entertained of their preservation, when they were providentially thrown on the coast of Jamaica. Here Bastidas refreshed his wearied crews, took in a stock of provisions, and when the weather seemed tolerably settled, departed for Hispaniola. On a little island about a league distant from the shore of this latter country, he found a secure and commodious haver, where he unloaded his ships, drew them ashore, and proceeded to refit them completely.

As soon as the necessary repairs were finished, and the vessels were in a state to put to sea, the weather-beaten mariners embarked with the intention of steering direct for Cadiz. The prudent conduct of Bastidas had enabled him to carry on a lucrative traffic with the natives of the continent, and to collect more gold, as well as slaves, dye-woods, and articles of curiosity, than most of the navigators who had preceded him in the west. The possession of so much treasure increased his anxiety to reach the termination of his voyage. He had hardly put to sea, however, when violent tempests compelled him to seek shelter under one of the headlands of Hispaniola, where he remained a full month in anxious expectation that the winds might abate and allow him to proceed. A treacherous gleam of fair weather tempted him again to set sail; but hurricanes immediately came on which drove him into the port of Jaragua; and as the gale continued with unmitigated fury, his ships at length sunk with all the treasures they contained. This accident occurred, however, so near the shore, that a good portion of the precious cargoes was recovered. The jealousy of the governor, Bobadilla, now proved as harassing and rapacious as the elements. A rumour that some chests of gold, saved from the shipwreck, had been secreted by Bastidas, in order to defraud the royal treasury, reached the ears of the weak governor, who wantonly added to the vexations of the embarrassed navigator. Bastidas, however, had perseverance and address sufficient to overcome these difficulties, and at length arrived in

Cadiz in September 1502, after an absence of three-and-twenty months; still retaining a considerable quantity of gold and other treasure, notwithstanding the losses incurred by shipwreck and incidental expenses. His successful perseverance in this voyage of discovery, and that of the pilot Cosa, were rewarded by grants of future revenues, to be derived from the province of Uraba; the court of Spain, by a policy at once subtle and economical, thus stimulating the hopes and exertions of private adventurers by liberal donations of treasures to be sought for at the farthest limit of their researches.

The facility with which the court of Spain bestowed immense territories in the New World on those who were bold enough to attempt their conquest gave loose reins to enterprise, and developed energies but little known in the confinement of society. Nor was this prodigal generosity without an object. The Spanish monarchs could not relinquish the hope of deriving not only dignity but also unbounded riches from the accession of dominions in the newly-discovered countries. They dreaded the active rivalry of foreign nations, particularly of the English and Portuguese, and hoped, by making settlements immediately, to preclude the possibility of disputing their right of possession. Hence, with a liberality which cost them nothing, they gave provinces to all who undertook to found a colony.

The nations whose maritime boldness was most to be dreaded were the English and the Portuguese. The latter had long enjoyed great maritime eminence: they had discovered the passage to the East Indies; and Cabral, while conducting a fleet thither, had unexpectedly fallen in with the coast of Brasil. This country, of which he had taken possession in the name of his sovereign, was found also to lie within the portion of the globe assigned to Portugal by the famous line of demarcation suggested by the papal bulls, and which, by a convention made in 1494, was fixed at three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores. The English, on the other hand, had sent out an expedition in 1497 under Sebas-

tian Cabot, who appears to have examined Newfoundland and the continent near the river St. Lawrence. They unquestionably despatched some other expeditions, of which, however, few or no particulars remain to us. Hojeda in his first voyage of discovery (1499) met with English navigators near the gulf of Maracaibo.* In the agreement made with him by the Spanish government in July 1500, previous to his second voyage, he was ordered "to follow and examine the coast which he had already discovered, and which appears to run east and west, as that is the part which the English are known to be exploring; and also to erect marks bearing the arms of Spain, and other known signals, in order that it may be manifest that he visited the coast, and that a stop may be put to the discoveries of the English in that quarter."† The dread of these formidable competitors quickened the grasping policy of the court of Spain. To Vincent Yanez Pinzon was given the country which he had discovered between Cape St. Augustin and the Maragnon: the immense line of coast between Paria and Darien was shared between Bastidas and the restless Hojeda. The ablest navigators in Spain,—Vincent Yanez Pinzon, Juan de la Cosa, Amerigo Vespucci, and Juan Diaz de Solis,—were consulted by the royal council in 1507, on the direction which ought to be given to future voyages of discovery, and on the probability of finding a western passage to the East Indies; and it appears to have been the unanimous opinion of those navigators, that the southern continent offered a fairer field to future researches.

Pinzon and Solis, who had recently examined the whole coast of South America from Paria to Darien, were accordingly sent out for the purpose of exploring its western shores through their entire extension. In June 1508 these experienced voyagers set sail, and arrived, without any accident, at Cape St. Augustin, on the coast of Brazil, beyond which point discovery had as yet extended but a little way. Following the coast of the continent towards the south, they reached as far as

* Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 41. † Id. p. 86.

the fortieth degree of southern latitude, erecting crosses wherever they landed, and taking possession of the country for the crown of Castile. The want of harmony between the commanders prevented their further progress. When Pinzon and Solis returned to Spain in 1509, their disputes became the subject of judicial investigation; and the latter being deemed culpable, was thrown into prison. But his condemnation alone was sufficient to satisfy the forms of justice; the court was too well acquainted with the value of his talents to suffer him to languish in confinement; he was soon liberated, and, on the death of Amerigo Vespucci, was appointed to the vacant dignity of chief pilot.

An expedition was shortly after fitted out to employ this experienced mariner. The king, whose jealousy of Portuguese encroachments was daily increasing, gave four thousand golden ducats towards the equipment of the vessels, the remainder of the expense being borne by Solis himself. The profits of the voyage were to be divided equally between the king, Solis, and the crew collectively. Full of sanguine anticipations, and elated by the many marks of royal favour which he had received, the chief pilot embarked on his voyage in November 1514. His instructions enjoined him particularly to endeavour to reach the southern side of the isthmus of Darien, where Balboa had recently discovered the great ocean, and to construct accurate maps of all the countries he should discover. Beginning his survey at Cape St. Augustin, Solis proceeded towards the south, ascertaining the position of every headland with all the accuracy which the instruments of that age admitted. At length he found a great opening conducting to the west, and to which, from the freshness of the water, he gave the name of *Mar dulce*. Entering into this gulf, which was the mouth of the great river of La Plata, Solis went on shore with a small party, in order to observe the soil and natural productions. He had not advanced far when he fell into an ambuscade of the Indians, who seized him, with five of his companions,

and having killed their captives, roasted and devoured them.

The Spaniards who remained on board, and who witnessed this shocking catastrophe, disheartened by the loss of their commander, immediately steered homewards, abandoning the prosecution of the voyage, which, but for the cruel fate of Solis, would probably have been conducted gloriously to the desired result,—the circumnavigation of South America.

Not a little encouragement was afforded to the perseverance of navigators by the discovery of the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, made a short time previous to the date of this expedition. It arose naturally from the ardour with which the Spaniards pressed onwards to the west. Hojeda, that daring cavalier, who had so much distinguished himself in Hispaniola under Columbus, and subsequently in the career of discovery, proceeded in 1501 to the gulf of Maracaibo, for the purpose of establishing a colony in the province there assigned him. But the violence of his character was ill suited to command; dissensions arose among his followers, who resisted his authority, and loaded him with chains. In this situation he seized an opportunity of throwing himself overboard, confident of his strength, and hoping to be able to swim to land, and thus escape from the mutineers. The weight of his iron fetters, however, was more than he could sustain, and he was on the very point of sinking to the bottom, when a boat, despatched to his assistance, rescued him from present death for new scenes of peril and adversity.

This extraordinary man, so well fitted by his hardihood and restless spirit to plant the standard of Spanish dominion on unknown shores, was tempted again, in 1509, by the royal grant of an immense territory, to form an establishment on the northern coast of South America. The extensive country comprised between the middle of the gulf of Darien or of Uraba, (that is, *of Canoes*,) as it was then called, and Cape Vela, was given to him under the name of New Andalusia; the adjoining tract

from Cape Vela to Cape Gracias á Dios was bestowed on Nicuessa, a wealthy gentleman of Hispaniola, whose readiness to catch at the baits held out for needy adventurers was gladly indulged by the Spanish government. Hojeda saw, with indignation, this unexpected rival share with him a dominion, the moiety of which was still far beyond his grasp. In his train were some destined to rank amongst the most distinguished characters of a brilliant age. The veteran mariner Juan de la Cosa was his pilot; Balboa and Francisco Pizarro, whose names will occur again in the course of the following pages, followed his fortunes; Hernando Cortez also was to have joined the expedition, but was detained in Hispaniola by unexpected illness.

On reaching the shores of Carthagena, Hojeda, in conformity with the royal instructions, began by exhorting the Indians to embrace the doctrines of Christianity, to deal kindly towards the Spaniards, and to acknowledge the authority of the king of Castile. The simple inhabitants, not comprehending the drift of these novel propositions, replied to them by a fierce attack on the strangers, whom they probably regarded as dangerous intruders. Though terrified at first by the dreadful sound and fatal effects of fire-arms, they returned to the onset with a courage unusual among the natives of the New World. The Spaniards, notwithstanding the superiority of their arms and the advantages of discipline, were unable to resist the poisoned arrows and overpowering numbers of the Indians. They all fell, about seventy in number, among whom was the pilot, Juan de la Cosa. Hojeda alone saved himself by the rapidity of his flight. When those who had remained on board, and who were still in ignorance of what had befallen their companions, sent a boat on shore after some hours, to learn their proceedings, they found their commander concealed in the mangroves at the water's edge, faint and exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

Warned by his recent disaster, Hojeda avoided collision with the warlike inhabitants of these regions, and

at length succeeded in building a fort, which he named after St. Sebastian; the protection of that saint being supposed capable of guaranteeing the settlers from the effects of poisoned arrows. But famine and disease soon began to be felt in the infant colony: the sufferings of his people became so severe that Hojeda was obliged to depart for Hispaniola to endeavour to procure provisions. On his arrival there, he learned that succours had been already despatched to St. Sebastian: his hopes suddenly revived at this intelligence; and in spite of all his hardships and reverses, his buoyant spirits once more revelled in brilliant dreams of future wealth, power, and dominion. But he now bore the stigma of misfortune:—the mistrustful coldness which he experienced on every side preyed upon his feelings; and he died soon after of a broken heart, and so poor, that all his property was found insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral. Hojeda is said to have written a history of his life,—a life of unceasing action and romantic adventure; but these interesting memoirs, along with those of Yanez Pinzon, and other early travellers, have been condemned, by the cautious and illiberal jealousy of the Spanish government, to moulder forgotten in the national archives.

The fate of Nicuessa was no less wretched than that of his unhappy rival in ambition. He left Hispaniola with four large ships and one caravel; but had hardly lost sight of land, when a violent tempest dispersed his fleet. Shipwrecked on a strange shore, he found his way with incredible toils to Veragua, which had been appointed the general rendezvous of his squadron: here his followers were cut off rapidly by want, disease, and the hostility of the Indians; whichever way he turned, by land or sea, fresh calamities awaited him. At Darien, where he hoped to find refuge among his countrymen, Balboa at first refused to admit him. He was, however, permitted to land, and soon after driven again to sea in a small vessel, with only seventeen followers; but was never heard of afterwards. While embarking to return to Hispaniola, he was reproached by Balboa with having

sacrificed so much human life to his ambition; — a reproach not undeserved, perhaps, but which came with a bad grace from one who led the vanguard of Spanish adventurers.

The most important result of these expeditions was the establishment of a small colony in Darien, which was placed under the command of Nunez de Balboa. This enterprising officer made numerous incursions on the territories of the neighbouring caciques, in the course of which he received intelligence from the Indians of a great sea a few days' journey to the south. This he justly concluded to be the ocean which Columbus had so long sought in vain. Inflamed with the idea of effecting a discovery which that great man had been unable to accomplish, and eager to reap the first harvest of victory in countries said to abound with gold, he boldly determined to march across the isthmus, and witness with his own eyes the truth of what he heard. But in the execution of his design he had to contend with every difficulty which could be opposed to him by the hand of nature or the hostility of the natives: he had to lead his troops, worn out with fatigue and the diseases of a noxious climate, through deep marshes rendered nearly impassable by perpetual rains, over mountains covered with trackless forests, and through defiles from which the Indians, in secure ambuscade, showered down poisoned arrows. But no sufferings could damp the courage of the Spaniards in that enterprising age; Balboa surmounted every impediment. As he approached the object of his research, he ran before his companions to the summit of a mountain, from which he surveyed, with transports of delight, the boundless ocean which rolled beneath; then hurrying to the shore, he plunged into the waves, and claimed the sovereignty of the Southern Ocean for the crown of Castile. This event took place in September 1513. The inhabitants of the coast on which he had arrived gave him to understand that the land towards the south was *without end;* that it was possessed by powerful nations who had

abundance of gold, and who employed beasts of burden. These allusions to the civilisation and riches of Peru, Balboa supposed to apply to those Indies which it was the grand object of European ambition to approach; and the rude sketches of the Peruvian lama, drawn by the Indians on the sand, as they resembled the figure of the camel, served to confirm him in his error. Delighted with the importance of his discovery, he immediately despatched messengers to Spain, to give an account of his proceedings, and to solicit an appointment corresponding to his services. But the Spanish court was more liberal in exciting enterprise than in rewarding merit, and preferred new adventurers to old servants. The government of Darien was bestowed on Pedrarias Davila, who, regarding Balboa with the hatred which conscious weakness always bears towards superior worth, meditated unceasingly the destruction of his rival. He at length found an occasion to satisfy his vengeance; and the heroic Balboa was publicly executed in Darien, in 1517, affording another instance of the unhappy fate which attended the first conquerors of America.

CHAP. IV.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES, AND FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE EARTH.

DIEGO COLUMBUS TAKES THE CHIEF COMMAND IN THE COLONIES. — INCREASED ENERGY. — PONCE DE LEON SEEKS THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH. — DISCOVERS FLORIDA. — OBSERVES THE EASTWARD CURRENTS. — EXPEDITIONS OF GARAY. — CORDOBA VISITS YUCATAN. — GRIJALVA DISCOVERS NEW SPAIN. — AILLON REACHES THE COAST OF CAROLINA. — ATTEMPTS TO MAKE A SETTLEMENT. — HIS MELANCHOLY FAILURE. — FERNANDO MAGELLAN, — RESPECTIVE RIGHTS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. — MAGELLAN ENGAGES TO CONDUCT A FLEET WESTWARD TO THE MOLUCCAS. — WINTERS ON THE COAST OF PATAGONIA. — MUTINY IN THE FLEET. — HIS STERN CONDUCT. — THE NATIVES DESCRIBED. — THE GUANACO. — MAGELLAN ENTERS THE PACIFIC OCEAN. — ARRIVES AT THE PHILIPPINE ISLES. — CONVERTS THE KING OF ZEBU, AND ENGAGES IN WARFARE FOR HIS SAKE. — IS SLAIN BY THE ISLANDERS. — TREACHEROUS CONDUCT OF THE KING OF ZEBU. — THE TWO REMAINING SHIPS REACH THE MOLUCCAS. — FATE OF THE TRINIDAD. — THE VITTORIA COMPLETES THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE EARTH. — LOSS OF A DAY IN HER RECKONING.

DURING these transactions on the southern continent, the spirit of discovery was actively at work in other quarters. Diego Columbus, the son of the celebrated admiral, had arrived, in 1509, at Hispaniola, invested with all those powers and prerogatives which had been so unjustly withheld from his father. He was followed to the New World by a large train of noble and wealthy persons, whose presence gave new animation and vigour to the colonies. Settlements were made in Cuba and other islands, and expeditions to examine the neighbouring seas proceeded advantageously from different points at once. In 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon, governor of Porto Rico, fitted out three ships to go in search of *Bayuca*, an island, in which was a fountain, as the Indians related, possessing the virtue of restoring all who bathed in it to youth. Tales such as this were readily believed

by romantic adventurers. Those who had braved the perils of the ocean to seek their fortunes in a new world fancied that they trod on enchanted ground; and where nature appeared in so new a garb, the invariable laws by which she directs her operations were easily lost sight of. Ponce de Leon failed to discover the miraculous fountain; but, after sailing a considerable distance to the north-west, he fell in with land, to which, from the circumstance of its being discovered on Easter-day, he gave the name of Florida.* He remarked the strong easterly currents running near the newly discovered country; and by this voyage the Spanish navigators were taught the advantage of steering by the straits of Bahama on their return to Europe.

The fierce resistance of the savages prevented Ponce de Leon from making any settlement on the coast of Florida; and little notice was taken of his discovery till 1519, when Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica, sent four ships to make farther researches in the north. Pineda, who commanded the expedition, commencing his survey at Florida, which had hitherto been supposed to be an island, succeeded in following the coast westward as far as Vera Cruz in New Spain. In describing the Indian nations which he had seen in the course of his voyage, he indulged largely in the privilege of fiction allowed to travellers: some, he says, were giants, others pigmies, and some were of ordinary stature.†

The voyage of Pineda completed the survey of the Mexican Gulf; for discoveries had already been made towards the west, which awakened the curiosity and prompted the exertions of Garay. In the year 1517, Francisco Hernando de Cordoba sailed from Cuba towards the west; examined a considerable portion of the northern coast of Yucatan; and returned to the Havanna with accounts collected from the Indians of a civilised and wealthy nation situated to the west of the coast which he had explored. In the following year, Juan de

* Easter day is called by the Spaniards *Pasqua florida*.
† Navarrete, p. 65.

Grijalva proceeded from the same port to continue these discoveries. Having passed the limits of preceding navigators, he came to a country which the natives called *Quimpech* or Campeachy. Farther on, he landed on a small island near the shore, beautifully ornamented with plantations; and in the centre of it he found several stone temples apparently in decay, with long flights of steps conducting to their summits; and among them one exceeding all the rest in height, and containing an idol to which human victims were offered in sacrifice. The farther Grijalva proceeded towards the west, the more the country seemed to improve in opulence and civilisation. The white houses built of stone, agreeably scattered along the shore, reminded the Spanish seamen of their native land, and they bestowed on this promising region the flattering title of *New Spain*. No difficulty was found in trafficking with the natives, who were peaceable and obliging. Gold was procured in large quantities; Grijalva even received from the hands of a cacique a complete suit of armour made of that precious metal. Having collected not a little treasure, and pursued his discoveries northwards beyond Panuco, he hastened to make his way back to Cuba, in the hope of returning shortly to this land of riches, and of levying new contributions on the weakness or facility of its simple inhabitants.

Thus, within the space of six-and-twenty years from the first discovery of America, the Spaniards had laboured with unceasing activity to extend their knowledge of the New World; they had established numerous colonies in it at a great distance from one another; and without any national exertions, but carried forward solely by the impulse of individual ambition, they had examined the winding and circuitous coast of that great continent, from the Rio de la Plata to the extremity of Florida. As their knowledge increased, their boldness and curiosity augmented with it; and accidents frequently occurred which widened the limits of their geographical knowledge. Lucas Vasquez de Aillon sailed

from Hispaniola in 1520, to capture slaves in the Bahama islands: failing, however, in the immediate object of his voyage, he directed his course northward, and discovered that part of the coast of North America which is included within the limits of the two Carolinas. He found the natives peaceable, and in great numbers. They were at first terror-struck at the novel appearance of the Spaniards and their ships; but when the timorous feelings of amazement had passed away, they crowded on board to indulge their curiosity in a nearer survey of their strange visitors. The Spaniards watched their opportunity, and suddenly weighing anchor, bore off the unhappy Indians from their native shores to miserable servitude. Proud of his success, Aillon repaired to the court of Spain to solicit a grant of the country which he had discovered. This was readily conceded; and he engaged to establish a colony at his own expense, eight hundred leagues from Hispaniola, and within three years from the time of the grant, or before 1528. He attempted to comply with these conditions; fitted out an expedition of six ships, and five hundred persons; landed at the mouth of a river, in 33° 40′, which is probably the George Town river of modern maps, and proceeded to build a town in an eligible situation. But sickness, want, and the unceasing attacks of the Indians, broke the spirits of his people. Aillon himself was among the number of those who fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate. Of the five hundred who had accompanied that unfortunate commander, in a short time not above a hundred and fifty remained; and this miserable remnant, shocked at the rapid mortality of their companions, fled from the scene of so much distress, and returned to Hispaniola.

Some time previous to these events, an important discovery had been made in the southern hemisphere, which promised brilliant advantages, and added largely to the triumphs of the Spanish nation. Fernando Magalhaens, or, as he is ordinarily called, Magellan, a Portuguese commander, of distinguished ability and expe-

rience, dissatisfied with the neglect in which he was allowed to languish after long services in the East Indies, where he assisted at the siege of Malacca, and unable to obtain from his sovereign that meed of favour to which he felt himself entitled, resolved to abandon for ever a kingdom in which meritorious exertions were so ill requited. A man of his stamp was sure to meet with a gracious reception at the court of Spain. Being secretly invited thither, he repaired, in 1517, to Valladolid, where Charles V. at that time resided with his court. Magellan answered all the enquiries of that prince with respect to the situation of the Moluccas, and supported the opinion that Spain had a right to those valuable islands.

The bull by which pope Alexander VI. adjusted the conflicting claims of the Spaniards and Portuguese determined that a line, drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, should be the common boundary of their respective domains; that all countries discovered 180 degrees to the west of that line should belong to the Spaniards; and those at an equal distance on the east of it, to the Portuguese. This mode of demarcation, sufficiently positive and exact in the Atlantic, was practically useless at the other side of the globe. Geographers were as yet unable to measure degrees of longitude with accuracy. Those who followed Ptolemy, and held that China was 180 degrees from the Canary islands, were disposed to believe that the Moluccas, or Spice islands, lay beyond that portion of the globe bestowed on Portugal by the sovereign pontiff, and of course that they belonged to Spain if reached from the west. The convention of 1494, in which those rival courts had agreed to remove the line of demarcation to the distance of 370 leagues westward of the Azores, while it opened to Portugal a footing in Brazil, necessarily enlarged the claims of Spain in the eastern hemisphere, and threw fresh confusion on the title to the very spot, the possession of which was so ardently coveted by the contracting parties. In no other

instance have political speculations been so remarkably frustrated by geographical ignorance.

Magellan maintained the right of Spain to the Moluccas, and engaged to conduct a fleet thither by the west; for he was persuaded of the existence of a passage round the American continent: and as he had the art of impressing his own serious conviction on the minds of others, his proposal was readily accepted. The fleet equipped for this great enterprise consisted of five vessels, two of a hundred and twenty, two of ninety, and one of sixty tons: the crews amounted altogether to two hundred and thirty men. Magellan hoisted his flag on board the Trinidad, Juan de Carthagena commanded the San Antonio, Luis de Mendoza the Vittoria, Gaspar de Quesada the Conception, on board of which vessel was Sebastian del Cano in quality of lieutenant, who had the honour of bringing back the Vittoria, after having made the complete circuit of the globe; lastly, the Santiago, a small vessel, was commanded by Rodriguez Serrano. The preparations being completed, the fleet sailed from San Lucar on the 20th of September 1519, and arrived, without any accident, on the coast of Brazil. Pursuing his voyage slowly to the south, Magellan reached, in April, a safe and commodious harbour, in nearly fifty degrees of southern latitude, to which he gave the name of Port St. Julian. Here he resolved to pass the winter, which in that part of the world is extremely rigorous from May to September. But the strict economy observed by him in the distribution of provisions, together with the hardships of a raw and tempestuous climate, gave rise to discontentment among the officers of the expedition, who were otherwise little disposed to submit to the authority of a foreigner. They murmured at the privations and at the dangers to which they were exposed, while remaining inactive on a strange and barren coast, during the most inclement season of the year: they demanded to be conducted back to Spain; and on Magellan's absolute refusal to comply with their wishes, they broke out at once into open disobedience.

In this trying conjuncture, Magellan behaved with a promptitude and courage worthy of the grand enterprise which he was so unwilling to abandon, but unhappily sullied by such an act of treachery and criminal violence as no danger can excuse. He sent to Luis de Mendoza, the leader of the malecontents, a messenger, instructed to stab that captain while conferring with him. This cruel order was punctually executed, and the crew of Mendoza's ship immediately submitted. The execution of Quesada followed the next day; and Juan de Carthagena was sent on shore and deserted, with the expectation, perhaps, of suffering a more cruel fate.

The fleet had remained two months at Port St. Julian, during all which time not a single native was seen. At length, one day, when it was little expected, a man of gigantic stature, and almost naked, appeared on the beach not far from the ships. He sung and danced violently, at the same time sprinkling dust upon his head. A seaman was immediately sent on shore, with orders to imitate exactly all his movements; a complaisance which proved so effectual, that the savage readily consented to go on board of Magellan's vessel. He pointed to the sky, as if to enquire whether the Spaniards had descended from above. "He was so tall," says Pigafetta, "that our heads scarcely came up to his waist, and his voice was like that of a bull." The natives now collected in great numbers on the shore, "marvelling vastly to see such large ships and such little men." One of them made frequent visits to the ships, was even taught to pronounce the Lord's Prayer, and was at length christened by the name of *Juan Gigante*.

The greatest number of these people seen at any one time in the neighbourhood of the ships was eighteen. They had with them four young animals, which they led about with halters, using them to decoy wild animals of the same species. This animal, a species of the lama, was described by the Spaniards as having the head and ears of a mule, the body of a camel, the legs of a stag,

and the tail of a horse, which it resembled also in its neighing. It was called by the natives *Guanaco*, whence modern naturalists have named it *Camelus Huanacus*. The natives wore shoes made of its skin, so inelegantly formed, as to make their feet resemble those of the animal; on which account Magellan called them *Patagones*, that word signifying in Spanish *clumsy-hoofed*.

The mutiny being quelled, Magellan left Port St. Julian in October 1520, and in a few days reached that strait which still bears the name of its illustrious discoverer. Nothing could exceed the joy of the seamen on finding an opening leading to the west, with a strong current running in the same direction, and so great a depth of water, as rendered it highly improbable that the channel should be that of a mere inlet instead of a communication between two great oceans. While the ships were passing through the strait, the St. Antonio purposely stayed back, and at last parted company and returned to Spain: the St. Iago had been wrecked not long before. With only three vessels, therefore, remaining of his fleet, Magellan, on the 28th of November, cleared the straits, and entered, with feelings of triumph, that great ocean which was so long the object of research.

The name of *South Sea*, given to this ocean by Balboa, who viewed only the small portion of it that washes the southern shores of the isthmus of Darien, and that of *Pacific Ocean*, adopted by the Spaniards who navigated the calm seas of Peru and Chili, are equally inadequate designations of the greatest collection of waters on the surface of the terraqueous globe. Three months and twenty days were employed by Magellan in crossing this ocean, from the strait which bears his name to the Philippine isles, where he arrived on the 16th of March 1521; and it is not a little surprising, that during a voyage of such length, and through seas since found to be thickly studded with well peopled islands, he should have fallen in with only two islands, and these of so lonely and deserted an appearance, that he gave them the name of *Desventuradas* or *Unhappy*.

It is doubtful whether they have been visited again by Europeans since their first discovery.

Arrived at the cluster since called the Philippine Islands, Magellan was well received by the king of Zebu. That prince was so courteous as to acknowledge himself the vassal of the king of Spain, and at the first exhortation consented to embrace Christianity; he was accordingly baptized with a great number of his people. A native of Malacca, who had accompanied the Spanish expedition, acted as interpreter on these occasions, the merchants of this archipelago being acquainted with many Indian languages. The bold spirit of Magellan was so far transported by the enthusiasm which reigned around him, that he imprudently offered to defend his royal proselyte from all his enemies. The proposal was immediately accepted. A chosen body of Spaniards, with Magellan at their head, marched to attack a neighbouring prince, the enemy of the Christian king of Zebu. But they had hardly entered on the hostile territory, when they found themselves surrounded by an immense multitude, who overwhelmed them with stones and other missiles. The Spaniards, animated by the example of their leader, defended themselves during a whole day with undaunted courage. But their ammunition was all spent, and retreat was become necessary. As they gave way, the enemy redoubled their onsets. At this crisis, a large stone struck Magellan on the head and stunned him, a second broke his thigh, and as he fell a shower of lances deprived him of life. Thus perished, the victim of his rashness, a man eminently qualified by his genius as well as courage to accomplish the grandest undertakings. The navigation accomplished under his guidance was by far the boldest, both in design and conduct, which had been as yet accomplished. The art of commanding was possessed by him in the highest degree; for the mutinous disposition of his officers, which was grounded in national antipathy, had never infected their crews; and the seamen in general looked up to him with the implicit deference due to one intrinsically superior.

On the death of Magellan, the king of Zebu, forgetting at once his Christianity and his friendship for the Spaniards, treacherously put to death all of them who remained upon the island. Those who were on board, when they learned the wretched fate of their companions and their chief, finding themselves too much reduced in number to manage three vessels, burned the Conception, and with the other two went in search of the Moluccas. They touched at several points on the eastern coast of Borneo, passed north of Celebes, and at length arrived at Tidor, one of the Moluccas, where the king of the island received them with joy on learning that they were adverse to the Portuguese, who had taken the king of Ternate, his enemy, under their protection. The Trinidad being leaky, remained here to repair, and when refitted, attempted to return by the Pacific Ocean to America; but being baffled by contrary winds, she was obliged to steer again for the Moluccas, where she arrived in a sinking state, and the crew were made prisoners by the Portuguese. In the mean time the Vittoria, under the command of Sebastian del Cano, returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at San Lucar on the 6th of September 1522, the men being nearly worn out by the fatigues of a voyage which had lasted three years and fourteen days. Thus was achieved, for the first time, the circumnavigation of the globe.

The feeble state of the art of navigation in the age immediately succeeding that of Columbus, may be readily collected from the preceding details of this chapter. Shipwrecks were of frequent occurrence, and many lives were lost in expeditions which were thought eminently successful if they discovered two or three hundred leagues of coast. The progress of the Spaniards in discovering the shores of the New World may be justly called rapid, if estimated by the ardour and perseverance which were requisite to effect it; but it was extremely slow, compared with what might be done in an age when nautical science has arrived at perfection. In the voyage of Magellan, nevertheless, the maritime

art seemed to make a sudden stride towards improvement. The conduct of that great navigator was as skilful as his genius was confident and daring; and he never allowed his own conceptions to be fettered by the routine of ordinary seamen. His determination to winter in Port St. Julian, which gave so much alarm to his officers already disposed to mutiny, is alone sufficient to show the force and originality of his spirit.

The Vittoria was drawn ashore, and long preserved as a monument of the most remarkable voyage ever performed. The pilots were ordered to send their journals to the court, and the seamen were separately examined as to what had occurred to them during the voyage. From these materials, a history of the expedition was written by command of the emperor Charles V.; but the manuscript of this work is supposed to have been destroyed by the flames during the sack of Rome in 1527, and the world would have remained ignorant of the particulars of Magellan's extraordinary voyage, had it not been for the narrative of Antonio Pigafetta, a gentleman of Vicenza, who accompanied that commander. * Pigafetta was a lively but an extremely credulous observer. His narrative derives great interest from the picture which he draws of the South Sea islanders, who were as yet quite unacquainted with Europeans. We owe to him also the first vocabularies of the languages spoken by the nations which he visited; those of the Philippine islands and the Moluccas are still of use, and his general accuracy has been confirmed by all subsequent travellers. It is curious to observe that previous to his time, the Arabian language of salutation had been introduced into the Philippine islands. From his vocabulary of the Patagonian language, Shakspeare borrowed the demon *Setebos*.†

* Pigafetta's history of the first voyage round the world was known only by abridgments and extracts, until the commencement of the present century, when a complete manuscript of the work was found by Amoretti in the Ambrosian library at Milan. It was published at Paris by Jansen in 1801.

† ——————— his art is of such power,
It would control my dam's god, Setebos. — *The Tempest*, Act I. Sc. II.

As the course of the Vittoria round the earth was from east to west, or in the same direction as the diurnal motion of the sun, that luminary had of course made, with respect to that vessel, one revolution less than it had performed in relation to any fixed point on the surface of the globe. When Sebastian del Cano, therefore, arrived at San Lucar, he was surprised to find that he had lost a day in his calculation; reckoning as [illegible] what in every calendar of Europe was the sixth of September. This circumstance, which admits of so easy an explanation, perplexed not a little the learned of the day, and gave rise to many a groundless theory.

CHAP. V.

HERNANDO CORTEZ.

EDUCATION OF CORTEZ. — ARRIVES AT CUBA. — APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW SPAIN. — THROWS OFF THE AUTHORITY OF VELASQUEZ. — BUILDS VERA CRUZ. — COMMENCES HIS MARCH. — DEFEATS THE TLASCALANS. — MASSACRE AT CHOLULA. — THE SPANIARDS ENTER THE CITY OF MEXICO. — DANGER OF THEIR SITUATION. — CORTEZ ARRESTS MONTEZUMA. — DEFEATS NARVAEZ. — REVOLT OF THE MEXICANS. — DEATH OF MONTEZUMA. — BATTLE OF OTUMBA, AND TRIUMPH OF THE SPANIARDS. — MEXICO SURRENDERS. — ALVARADO MARCHES TO GUATEMALA. — EXPEDITION OF DE OLID. — CORTEZ CONDUCTS AN ARMY FROM MEXICO TO HONDURAS. — CONVENTION OF BADAJOS. — LOYASA SENT WITH A FLEET TO THE MOLUCCAS. — HIS FATE. — VOYAGE OF THE PATACA. — CORTEZ SENDS SAAVEDRA TO ASSIST LOYASA. — SURPRISE OF THE PORTUGUESE. — SAAVEDRA DISCOVERS NEW GUINEA AND OTHER ISLANDS. — HIS FATE. — CORTEZ BECOMES AN OBJECT OF POLITICAL JEALOUSY. — REVISITS SPAIN. — HOW RECEIVED. — RETURNS TO MEXICO WITH DIMINISHED POWER. — DISCOVERS CALIFORNIA. — CONSUMES HIS FORTUNE IN FRUITLESS EXPEDITIONS. — RETURNS TO SPAIN. — HIS AFRICAN CAMPAIGN. — NEGLECTED BY THE COURT. — HIS DEATH.

GREAT revolutions in the history of mankind are apt to call forth the energies of individuals in an extraordi-

nary degree, and to furnish a splendid scene of remarkable characters. The discovery of America, the most important event perhaps in the annals of history, fully justifies this observation. The Spaniards in the New World were led to conquest by a train of heroes, who, in the vastness of their designs and daring courage, perfectly corresponded with the grandeur of the theatre in which they moved. Among the most conspicuous of these was Hernando Cortez. This celebrated man was born in 1485, at Medelin in Estremadura, of a noble but not wealthy family. Being intended for the bar, he received a good education; but, as he grew up, the extreme ardour of his temper disqualified him for the studies of scholastic life, and determined him to embrace the profession of arms. The wars in Italy at that time offered an inviting field to the aspirants after military renown, and Cortez was prevented by sickness alone from trying his fortune in that quarter. He was reserved for more singular achievements than could be expected from the well-balanced struggles of European warfare. In 1504 he departed for Hispaniola, where he was well received by the governor Ovando, who was also his relation. Illness prevented his accompanying Hojeda in that expedition to Uraba, in which Balboa, Pizarro, and others, who afterwards figured so eminently in the transactions of the New World, followed in the train of that unfortunate leader.

In 1511 Cortez attended Diego Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba, and won the esteem of that officer by his application to business. The impetuosity of his youth had subsided into a habit of persevering activity, and the frankness of his demeanour easily gained the confidence of those with whom he was engaged. When Grijalva returned from the discovery of New Spain, Velasquez immediately fitted out an expedition for the conquest of that country; but being of a weak and suspicious temper, he was unwilling to entrust so important a commission to one who deemed himself entitled to it, and who had already risen to distinction. Embarrassed

in his choice of a commander by the opposite suggestions of jealousy and prudence, he at length selected Hernando Cortez, who embarked accordingly on the 18th of November 1518, with ten ships, containing six or seven hundred men, eighteen horses, and a few pieces of artillery. He had no sooner left the shore, than Velasquez repented of the step he had taken, in placing so much power in the hands of one whose talents he feared, and whose secret intentions he mistrusted. But it was now too late to correct the error: Cortez, secure in the attachment of his soldiers, easily defeated the attempts of the governor to recall him, and pursued his voyage without further molestation.

In the month of March 1519, the Spaniards disembarked on the coast of Mexico. The Indians surveyed their strange visitors with fear and wonder: the size of the ships, the thunder of the artillery, and above all, the strength and swiftness of the horses, filled them with amazement, and led them to regard the Spaniards with a superstitious awe, of which the latter were not slow to take advantage. Cortez soon learned that the country in which he had arrived formed part of the dominions of Montezuma, whose extensive empire stretched from sea to sea, and embraced the territories of thirty powerful caciques. The Spaniard insisted on being conducted to the presence of the Indian prince. But the prudence or boding apprehensions of the Mexicans were opposed to such a step: every argument was enforced, every art employed, that was thought likely to divert Cortez from his design. Rich presents were sent to him from the court, consisting of finely wrought utensils of gold and silver, cotton stuffs, and pictures formed of feathers; and as they offered a tempting evidence of the wealth and civilisation of the country, the effect produced by them on the deliberations of the Spaniards was directly the contrary of that which was intended. The heroic Cortez, undaunted by the accounts which he received of the power and character of Montezuma, who ruled with despotic sway a rich and po-

pulous empire, now consolidated by a political existence of a hundred and thirty years, and who was able to lead into the field an army of two hundred thousand men, resolved to meet all dangers rather than relinquish so glorious a prize, and to attempt at once a conquest worthy of his daring ambition.

He began his preparations by building the town of Vera Cruz: he then burned all his ships, in order that his followers might have no alternative but conquest or destruction; and engaged in his interest some of the Indian caciques who were dissatisfied with the violent and arbitrary temper of Montezuma. These measures being taken, he commenced his march into the interior, with a little army of five hundred men, six cannons, and fifteen horses. The inhabitants of Tlascala alone offered him any resistance. These fierce republicans, who had successfully defied all the efforts of the Mexicans to subdue them, were now completely defeated in three successive battles by a handful of Spaniards, who did not even purchase their victories over greatly superior numbers by any loss on their side. The brave Tlascalans were obliged to sue for peace, and from enemies cheerfully consented to become the allies of those whose irresistible valour they had experienced. Thus strengthened by a union with the people, whose ancient hostility to the Mexicans was a pledge of their fidelity to him, Cortez continued his march to the capital of Montezuma. That prince, afraid to oppose the Spaniards openly, sent forward to acquaint them that they should be received in his dominions as friends. At Cholula, accordingly, they met with a gracious reception; but the suspicions of Cortez were awakened by the warnings of his Tlascalan friends: he seized the Mexican priests, and drew from them the confession, that preparations were making in secret to exterminate him and all his followers. The Spaniards, enraged at this scheme of treachery, took ample vengeance on the guilty city: six thousand Cholulans perished in the slaughter that ensued; and the Indians were no less

confounded by the discernment than by the strength and arms of their strange invaders.

To the Spaniards, who were hardly less astonished at their own success than the simple people over whom they triumphed, the view of the rich and boundless plain of Mexico, with its spacious lake, surrounded by populous towns, and the great capital itself, rising on an island near the shore, seemed to realise some vision of romance or dream of the imagination. At every step they found new cause to admire the riches of the country, and their own audacity. Montezuma received them with studious pomp, and with every manifestation of friendship. The people viewed them as supernatural beings, and paid to Cortez, whom they believed to be the child of the sun, the most submissive reverence.

The first care of Cortez was to fortify himself in the palace assigned for his residence. His sole study was to contrive the means by which he might make himself master of this opulent empire. An event, however, had occurred which threatened to disconcert his ambitious plans. A Mexican general, acting by the secret commands of Montezuma, had attacked the feeble garrison left at Vera Cruz; and, although finally repulsed, had killed some of the Spaniards, and taken one prisoner. This unfortunate captive was put to death, and his head sent round to all the chief cities of the empire, in order to convince the people that their invaders, however formidable, were yet not immortal. The superstitious dread with which the Spaniards had inspired the natives, and which was the foundation of their power, was thus threatened with subversion. The spell once broken, by which they maintained their ascendant, they must soon sink, notwithstanding all the advantages of arms and discipline, beneath the overwhelming numbers of their enraged enemies.

Cortez, whose eyes were fully open to the dangers of his situation, and whose spirit was as bold as it was vigilant, resolved to prevent all the dangers of his temerity by an act still more daring than any which he

had as yet committed, and to decide the fate of Mexico before the people had learned generally to suspect his weakness. He proceeded, accompanied by his officers, to the palace of Montezuma, and when persuasions proved fruitless, prevailed on that unhappy prince, by threats and menaces, to accompany him to the quarters of the Spaniards. When once master of the monarch's person, he in reality possessed all the authority of government. The Mexican general, who had attacked the Spaniards, was delivered up to his vengeance, and cruelly sentenced to be burned alive. The Spanish conqueror was aware what a tendency scenes of blood have to fortify the impressions of superstition; and his policy condemned to the most signal punishment those who had thrown a doubt on the inviolability of the Spaniards. Montezuma was loaded, for a time, with chains, and compelled to acknowledge himself the vassal of the emperor Charles V. To this forced submission he was obliged to add a present of six hundred thousand marks of pure gold, besides a great quantity of jewels. But the oppressed prince, while thus stripping himself of his power, could not be induced to change his religion, notwithstanding all the pious exhortations of the formidable Cortez. The Spaniards, however, put a stop to the abominable rites of human sacrifice; and for the piles of human skulls which decorated the temples, substituted the images of the saints and of the holy Virgin.

The triumph of Cortez now seemed secure, when he learned, on a sudden, that a Spanish army had disembarked under the command of Narvaez, sent by Velasquez for the purpose of stripping him of his authority. He encountered this new difficulty with his usual promptitude and boldness. Leaving two hundred men in Mexico, under the orders of his lieutenant, he led the remainder of his forces with the greatest possible expedition against Narvaez. The contest was soon decided. Narvaez was taken prisoner, and his troops gladly consented to serve under the banners of the con-

queror. Cortez had no sooner returned to the capital than new troubles broke out: the Mexicans rose in arms against him with increased hostility. Montezuma, now a passive instrument in the hands of his enemies, was wounded by his enraged subjects while endeavouring to harangue them; and this new evidence of his degraded state struck so forcibly on his spirit, that he refused all nourishment, and expired in a few days.

The Spaniards were now pressed with such vigour, that they saw no hope of safety but in retreat. They commenced their march in the dead of night, hoping that they might cross the causeys conducting from the city to the shores of the lake, before the enemy should be apprised of their movement. The Mexicans, however, were on the watch: and they poured on their oppressors with such irresistible fury, that notwithstanding the valour with which the Spaniards defended themselves, they lost all their horses and artillery, and some of their bravest troops. Cortez endeavoured to animate his dejected soldiers by his exhortations and example, as they marched through deep swamps, harassed by parties of the enemy, who hung upon their rear, and who shouted to them, "Go on, robbers! till you arrive at the place where just punishment awaits you." This menacing intimation was not understood by them till, on ascending the heights which look down on the great plain of Otumba, they saw an immense army drawn out, and ready to receive them. At this spectacle, the hearts of the Spaniards were ready to faint within them; but the heroic spirit of Cortez always appeared to greatest advantage in the most desperate conjunctures. Without allowing his soldiers time to contemplate the fearful array of the enemy, but reminding them that they must choose between death and victory, he gave the signal of battle; rushed, with a chosen band, into the thickest of the fight; and, having seized the sacred standard of the Mexicans, gained, with little loss, a most decisive victory. This remarkable battle, in which a handful of Spaniards defeated the whole forces of the Mexican em-

pire, was fought on the 7th of July 1520. On the following day Cortez reached Tlascala, the inhabitants of which continued faithful to him in all his reverses.

The followers of Cortez, who had been unable to maintain their ground in Mexico, supposed that no course was now left them to adopt but to abandon a struggle, to which their numbers and provision were inadequate. But Cortez himself was obstinately bent on effecting the subjugation of the Mexican empire. He employed agents to procure him ammunition, and to collect recruits among the adventurers of the Spanish colonies. The fame of his exploits, and of the rich spoils won at Otumba, brought not a few to join his standard. About six months after his disastrous retreat from the Mexican capital, he commenced his second march towards it, with an army of about five hundred Spaniards, and nine field-pieces, besides a strong body of Tlascalan auxiliaries. Guatimozin, the new emperor, defended his city with obstinate courage, and, for some months, baffled all the efforts of Cortez, who, by the construction of a few brigantines, had rendered himself completely master of the lake. But the Spanish artillery at length prevailed. Guatimozin, endeavouring to escape in a canoe, with his wife and children, was taken prisoner; and the fate of the Mexican empire was finally decided by the surrender of the capital, on the 13th of August 1521.

At the conclusion of this siege, Cortez saw no fewer than two hundred thousand Indians ranged under his standard; such extraordinary success had attended his policy and resolution. The account of his victories, which he had despatched to Europe, secured him the approbation of the court of Spain, and excused the irregularity of his conduct. Charles V., overlooking the claims of Velasquez, appointed Cortez governor and captain-general of Mexico. The grateful monarch, at the same time, bestowed on the conqueror the valley of Guaxaca, with the title of marquess, and ample revenues.

As soon as Cortez found his authority confirmed by the royal sanction, he applied himself with fresh ardour to consolidate his dominion, by the establishment of police, by building towns, and encouraging the arts of peace. The struggle with the Mexicans was no sooner decided, than several expeditions were despatched by him, in order to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the country. Alvarado and Sandoval, two of his most enterprising officers, marched over the countries bordering on the South Sea, receiving the submission of the inhabitants, and extorting from them gold, the sole motive of all the toils encountered by the conquerors of the New World. Alvarado carried his victorious arms as far southward as Guatemala, where he built the city of St. Jago. In this expedition he travelled four hundred leagues, through countries previously unknown, passing over hills of sulphur, and through rivers so hot that the soldiers could hardly endure to wade through them.*

About the same time Cortez was informed, that the provinces of Higueras and Honduras contained rich mines. Some sailors reported that the native fishermen of these countries fastened to their nets weights made of gold alloyed with copper: they alleged, also, that a strait or passage into the Pacific Ocean would probably be found in that direction. Thus it appears that the surveys made by the Spanish navigators along these shores were not of so accurate a nature, or of such general notoriety, as to do away with the popular belief in the existence of a strait. Cortez determined, accordingly, to send an expedition by sea to Honduras; and having fitted out a considerable armament, placed it under the command of Cristoval de Oli. This officer, on his arrival in Honduras, founded the colony of *El Triumpho de la Cruz;* but, from personal hostility to Cortez, he soon threw off obedience to his authority. The troops under his command were, at the same time, disappointed to find that the quantity of gold which could be wrung from the natives was far below their

* Bernal Diaz.

sanguine anticipation. Every attempt to levy tribute was met with fierce resistance. Some of the Indian tribes with whom they had to contend wore good armour of quilted cotton capable of warding off the blows of a Spanish javelin. Their ferocity in battle was increased by the presence of women covered all over with a mixture of paint and cotton wool, who were supposed to possess supernatural powers, and who promised them certain victory. Cortez now determined to lead an army in person against the rebellious general. He had sent the former expedition to Honduras by sea, in order to avoid the tediousness and labour of the march by land; but on this occasion he resolved to brave all the difficulties of a journey through such an immense extent of wild and unexplored country. When he arrived at Tabasco, the cacique of that province gave him a map of cotton cloth, whereon was painted all the towns, rivers, and mountains of the country, as far as Nicaragua. All the resources of his fertile genius were required to surmount the difficulties of his undertaking. With his Indian map, and the mariner's compass, he guided his army through woods so entangled, gloomy, and monotonous, that the soldiers, imagining themselves inextricably lost, began to sink under despair. The trees were so thick as to exclude completely the rays of the sun; and, if any eminence occasionally occurred, from which a wider survey could be made, nothing was to be seen but an endless continuation of the same impervious forest. At length the perseverance and the skill of Cortez triumphed over all the obstacles of nature, and he reached the sea-coast of Honduras, after a most extraordinary march of nearly a thousand miles. De Oli was put to death, and the Spaniards established in the country cheerfully submitted to the conqueror of Mexico.

About this time a convention was held near Badajos, for the purpose of deciding on the pretensions of Spain and Portugal to the possession of the Spice Islands. Charts were produced by both parties, in which those

coveted regions were represented as falling within the jurisdiction of the respective claimants. After much warm debate, the Junta de Badajos terminated without producing any useful result, each party deciding for itself. When the king of France heard of those disputes, and of the great quantities of gold which were brought into Spain from the New World, he is reported to have said, "Since the kings of Spain and Portugal divide the world between them, I wish that they would show me the will of our father Adam, that I might see in what terms he has constituted them sole heirs."

On the dissolution of the junta, the court of Spain, determined to assert its right to the Moluccas, immediately equipped a fleet of six vessels, which was placed under the command of Garcia de Loyasa, a knight of Malta. Sebastian del Cano, who had already circumnavigated the globe, and some others, companions of Magellan, embarked in the expedition. The fleet, on board of which were four hundred and fifty men, sailed from Corunna in July 1525. In January of the following year they reached the strait of Magellan, where they employed four months in effecting their passage into the Pacific Ocean. During all this time, they saw but few natives; and as these showed signs of hostility, no intercourse was maintained with them. The bodies of some were found, who had died from extreme cold. The Spaniards estimated the length of the strait at a hundred and ten leagues: it appeared to be from one to seven leagues wide. In some parts of it, the mountains rise to so great a height that they seem to reach the heavens: as the rays of the sun are completely excluded from these places, the cold is extreme; the snow never melts, but takes the blue colour of a glacier. Notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, trees are abundant in sunny situations; and, among other species, a kind of cinnamon tree, of which the Spaniards carried off some of the bark.

The fleet had not advanced far in the great ocean when it encountered a violent tempest. The Pataca, a

pinnace commanded by Jago de Guevara, and another small vessel, completely lost sight of the larger ships. Their situation was desperate; for they carried no provisions, having daily received their supplies from the admiral's stores. Guevara, under these circumstances, thought the most prudent course to be adopted was to steer for New Spain. His men had little to subsist on besides the birds which they caught in the rigging. On board of the Pataca there was, by good luck, a cock and hen; and the hen, as soon as the vessel entered the warm latitudes, laid an egg every day. The captain of the other ship offered Guevara a thousand ducats for his two fowls, which the latter refused; the eggs being the chief nourishment of the sick men. At length, after enduring extreme sufferings for some weeks, they saw land; but as they approached the shore, they found it covered with savages. The coast was low, and so beset with breakers, that it appeared utterly impossible to land from their vessels; nor was it evident that the natives watched them with friendly intentions. But necessity now compelled the adoption of desperate measures: some one must devote himself for the good of all, and Juan de Arrayzaga offered to attempt to gain the beach in an empty chest. He had not proceeded far, however, when the chest upset: he endeavoured to reach the shore by swimming; but his strength soon failed him; and he must inevitably have perished in the waves, had not the Indians rushed forward to his assistance. When drawn on shore, he found himself in the midst of twenty thousand natives, armed with bows and arrows. Apprehension seized him for a moment; but what was his joy, when a cacique, pointing to a cross erected at a little distance, pronounced the words *Sancta Maria!* Arrayzaga then learned that he was arrived at Tecoantepec, on the coast of Mexico. Provisions were immediately sent on board the Pataca; and Guevara, having landed, was conducted to Cortez.

The storm which had driven the Pataca from her course had dispersed the other vessels of Loyasa's fleet.

Loyasa himself died just when he approached the equator, and the celebrated pilot, Sebastian del Cano, survived him but four days. The vessels arrived at the Ladrone islands under the command of Salazor. Here they found a Galician, who had deserted from Magellan's fleet, and who had learned the language of the natives. Pursuing their course to the Moluccas, the Spaniards engaged in hostilities with the Portuguese, and having lost their ships, either fell in battle or pined in captivity. Fernando de la Torre, with a few other individuals of Loyasa's fleet, returned from the Moluccas to Europe in 1534, having thus made the complete circuit of the earth.

Cortez had been apprised by the court of Spain of the sailing of Loyasa's expedition, and desired to co-operate with it. As soon as he was informed by Arrayzaga that the admiral had already crossed the Pacific Ocean, he equipped three caravels, which he placed under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra, a skilful and enterprising officer. In October, 1526, Saavedra sailed from Jevatlancio in Mexico, and after discovering a group of islands, which he called *The Kings*, reached Mindanao, and afterwards the Moluccas, where the Spaniards and Portuguese were now carrying on with each other a war of extermination. It caused not a little astonishment, when, on being questioned whence he came, he replied, from New Spain. On the first appearance of the Spaniards in those seas, the Portuguese were at a loss to comprehend how their rivals, by sailing westward, could reach those sequestered countries, at which they themselves had arrived by holding a directly opposite course. But when Saavedra, in a small caravel, declared that he had crossed the ocean from New Spain, which he estimated to be at a distance of two thousand and fifty leagues, his statement was hardly credited; so much was ignorance confounded by the full discovery of the geographical relationship between the old and new worlds.

The Spanish commander, after taking on board such

of the companions of Magellan and Loyasa as still survived in the Indian islands, sailed from Tidore in June, 1528, to return to Mexico. After a navigation of two hundred and fifty leagues, he anchored near certain *Golden Isles*, of which his description does not remain; but which are supposed, with good reason, to have been a part of Papua or New Guinea. The inhabitants were negroes, and entirely naked. Endeavouring to effect his voyage to New Spain, Saavedra reached some islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, where he was surprised to find the inhabitants handsome and fair complexioned; they were tattooed and painted all over, on which account he gave the islands the name of *Pintados*. Adverse winds drove him back again to the Moluccas; whence he made a second attempt to reach Panama, with a cargo of cloves, but with no better success. He died during the voyage, and the vessel returned to Tidore. Saavedra appears to have indulged much in the bold speculation of cutting a canal across the isthmus of Darien.*

The court of Spain, whose policy it was to encourage, in every daring adventurer, the first ambition of conquest, but to prevent the consolidation of his power, began now to view with a jealous eye the success of Cortez. The complaints of his enemies were well received, and commissioners were appointed to enquire into his conduct. The conqueror of Mexico, hurt at this unworthy treatment, and aware that an equitable trial was not to be expected in the New World, where the sentiments of justice and generosity were choked by habitual violence and rapacity, resolved to return to Spain, and vindicate his conduct to the emperor in person. He appeared at Toledo with a costly retinue, and such a display of wealth as was calculated to raise the estimation of those rich countries which he had annexed to the Spanish crown. Some of the Mexican nobility followed in his train. This splendour produced the intended effect. Cortez, now marquess del Valle de

* Ant. Galvaom. dos descobrimentos antigos.

Guaxaca, was received by the emperor with every demonstration of favour and esteem. But although his enemies were silenced, the inflexible policy of the government was not moved by the openness of his behaviour. His authority was abridged; and Antonio de Mendoza was appointed viceroy of New Spain, while the marquess was allowed to retain only the powers of captain-general and admiral of the South Seas.

The enterprising genius of Cortez, thus confined in its operations, and debarred the further pursuit of political greatness, engaged eagerly in the prosecution of geographical discoveries. Here an ample field lay open to him, in which his active spirit might be laudably employed and fame acquired. During his absence in Spain, Nunez de Guzman had marched with an army from Mexico, towards the north-west: he had collected in his course a large quantity of gold, and received the submission of many caciques. To the rugged mountainous country which terminated his progress northward, he gave the name of *New Galicia*. Cortez, desirous to obtain a perfect knowledge of the coast in the same direction, fitted out an armament at Acapulco, which he placed under the command of Hurtado de Mendoza; but violent storms, and the misconduct of the officers employed, defeated the object of the expedition. At length, in 1536, Cortez equipped a second fleet, of which he took the command in person, and, after enduring great hardships, discovered the peninsula of California, and advanced above fifty leagues within the Gulf of California, called also the Vermilion Sea. The Spaniards still name it from its discoverer, *Mar de Cortez*. Six years later, when the viceroy Mendoza sent an expedition to continue the discoveries of Cortez, the officers engaged in it are said to have reached the fortieth degree of latitude, where they saw snowy mountains on the coast, and met with ships having their yards gilded and bows adorned with silver. These vessels, according to the narrators of the tale, were supposed to have come from Japan or China.

Two vessels, which Cortez sent about the same time with succours to Pizarro, and with orders to steer from Peru to the Moluccas, accomplished the voyage with success. They sailed for a thousand leagues across the Pacific without seeing any land; but afterwards touched at numerous islands. These expeditions, from which so little resulted, are said to have cost Cortez three hundred thousand crowns.* But he hoped that the generosity of the emperor would indemnify him for losses incurred in undertakings of this nature: he also expected to obtain restitution of the estates which had been unjustly wrested from him during the former suspension of his authority. With these views he returned to Spain, in 1540. But his merits weighed lightly in the interested calculations of the Spanish court. Charles V. received him coldly, and evaded his demands. Cortez attended the emperor in the celebrated expedition to Algiers: the vessel in which he had embarked was stranded, and in wading to the shore he lost his valuable jewels. In the combat that ensued he had a horse killed under him, and appeared conspicuous, for the last time, in the field of battle. Charles V. treated him with such neglect, as not even to allow him the favour of an audience. Cortez, on one occasion, forced his way through the crowd, and stood on the step of the emperor's carriage. Charles V., astonished at his boldness, demanded who he was. "I am one," replied the conqueror of Mexico, "who has given you more provinces than your ancestors have left you towns." But his boldness gave offence to imperial pride, and he was allowed to remain in obscurity. His health now rapidly declined: worn out by fatigues, disappointment increased his natural infirmities; and this extraordinary man expired near Seville on the 2d of December, 1547, in the sixty-second year of his age. His remains were interred with great pomp in the chapel of the dukes of Medina Sidonia; but were afterwards removed to New Spain, in conformity with the desire expressed in his will. The titles of Cortez have passed by mar-

* Bernal Diaz.

riage to the dukes of Monteleone, who also retained possession of his immense estates in Mexico up to the recent revolutions in the New World.

CHAP. VI.

CONQUEST OF PERU.

NEW EFFORTS OF THE SPANIARDS. — COMBINATION OF PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE. — FIRST ATTEMPT OF PIZARRO ON PERU. — HIS FAILURE. — SUCCEEDS IN VISITING THAT COUNTRY. — HIS NEGOTIATIONS IN SPAIN. — INVADES PERU. — SEIZES THE INCA. — THE SPANIARDS OBTAIN AN IMMENSE TREASURE. — THE INCA PUT TO DEATH. — ALMAGRO INVADES CHILI. — SUFFERINGS OF THE SPANIARDS. — REVOLT OF THE PERUVIANS. — CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PIZARRO. — ALMAGRO DEFEATED AND PUT TO DEATH. — VALDIVIA PENETRATES TO THE SOUTHERN BORDERS OF CHILI. — EXTRAORDINARY JOURNEY OF VADILLO. — BENALCAZAR CONQUERS QUITO. — EXPEDITION OF ALVARADO. — GONZALEZ PIZARRO MARCHES IN SEARCH OF THE CINNAMON COUNTRY. — DIFFICULTIES OF THE MARCH. — GONZALEZ REACHES THE CINNAMON COUNTRY, AND RASHLY EXPLORES TOWARDS THE EAST. — SUFFERINGS OF THE EXPEDITION. — FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA EMBARKS ON THE MARANHON. — DESCENDS THAT RIVER TO THE OCEAN. — HE PROPAGATES STORIES OF EL DORADO AND NATIONS OF AMAZONS. — FATE OF ORELLANA. — RETURN OF GONZALEZ PIZARRO TO QUITO. — REBELLION OF ALMAGRO'S PARTY. — DEATH OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

THE success of Cortez almost realised the expectations formed respecting the riches of the New World, and revived the declining spirit of adventure. By his sagacious policy, his promptitude, and his courage, he had achieved the first conquest of which the Spaniards could justly boast in that quarter of the globe. Instead of confining his ambition to the establishment of a colony, or to the discovery of new and fertile regions, he attacked and overturned a mighty empire, celebrated by every Indian tribe for its power and civilisation, and capable of yielding an ample revenue. The conquest of Mexico

fully proved the vast disproportion that existed in respect to courage, strength, and armour, between the American and European warrior. The armour and the discipline of the Spaniards completely secured them from the assaults of their feeble enemies; who, on the other hand, knew not how to resist a volley of musquetry or a charge of horsemen. The superstitious dread with which the Indians were impressed by the superiority of the Spaniards increased the advantages from which it sprung. From these circumstances, and from the deceitful conduct of Cortez, who always announced himself as an ambassador, the bearer of a friendly message, must be ascribed the fall of Mexico, and not to the remissness or misconduct of Montezuma. Cortez, with his handful of followers, defeated repeatedly the brave Tlascalans, who had successfully defied all the efforts of Mexico to subdue them; he routed at Otumba an immense army of Mexicans, collected at a time when that people had in a great measure lost their fear and were animated by the most bitter hatred of the Spaniards. It cannot be reasonably supposed, therefore, that any political calculations of the Mexican prince could have provided for a conjuncture so extraordinary as the arrival of the Spaniards; or that his prudence could have averted the consequences of an event, all the circumstances of which lay so far beyond his experience, or even his conception.

The facility with which so great a conquest had been effected, excited the Spanish adventurers to nobler exploits than those to which they had been hitherto accustomed. It taught them to rely more confidently on their own strength and the kindness of fortune. When Balboa, after crossing the Isthmus of Darien, had reached Panama, on the South Sea, he there received intelligence of a great nation situated far to the south, possessing the precious metals in abundance, and advanced in the arts of civilised life. These flattering indications of Peru tempted the enterprise of many. But that vast tract of country lying between the settlements at Panama and the northern provinces of Peru, to which the Spa-

niards gave the name of *Tierra Firma*, presented so many obstacles to their progress, as to defeat completely all their attempts to penetrate across it. Fruitless marches under continual and heavy rains, in a singularly noxious climate, and through dark forests rendered nearly impervious by the tangled underwood, so broke the health and sunk the spirits of the few who survived such efforts, as to damp the ardour of discovery towards the south; and even hope almost ceased to look in that direction.

Yet among the Spaniards settled at Panama there were three men whose spirits were proof against discouragement. These were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. The first of these was the natural son of a gentleman, whose name he assumed. He received no education, but was bred up at Truxillo in Estremadura, in the mean employment of a swineherd. The natural energy, however, of young Pizarro's character soon drove him to seek a more active and varied occupation. The wars of Italy offered him a field in which he enlarged his experience and developed his talents. After serving some years in that country, he embarked for America, the grand rendezvous of the bold and needy, where he took a conspicuous part in the disastrous expedition of Hojeda. Almagro was a brave and open-hearted soldier, used to command, and sufficiently ambitious, but neither politic nor designing enough to engage singly in any schemes of aggrandizement. Luque was a wealthy ecclesiastic, who ardently desired to be the spiritual chief of some extensive countries won by the toils of another. Such were the men who combined to overturn the empire of Peru. Each engaged to risk his whole fortune in the adventure: Pizarro, who was the least wealthy of the three, offered to take the post of danger, and to command the armament fitted out for the daring enterprise.

A single vessel, having on board a hundred and twelve men, was all that could be equipped for an expedition from which such important results were expected. Pi-

zarro, unacquainted with the navigation of the seas which he intended to cross, commenced his voyage at a season of the year when the winds were directly opposed to his progress southwards. He touched at several points on the coast of Tierra Firma, but he found every where an uninviting country, covered with swamps and impervious forests. The fatigues of the voyage, the scarcity of provisions, and the maladies peculiar to the climate, reduced considerably the numbers of his followers, who, notwithstanding the example afforded them by the resolution of their leader, gave way to feelings of discouragement and despair. Almagro, who followed Pizarro with a small reinforcement, was equally unsuccessful. At length, having united the feeble remnants of their forces, they withdrew to the little island of Gallo, whence Almagro returned to Panama, to collect fresh troops and make the necessary provisions for a new campaign. But notwithstanding all the precautions of the leaders, the complaints and distresses of the soldiers, who had endured such sufferings in the late expedition, found their way into the colony. It may be easily imagined that the most respectable inhabitants of the new settlements were averse to enterprises, which from their nature held out particular inducements to persons of desperate character and fortune. The waste of life and reckless profligacy of manners which usually attended these wild adventures were not always compensated by a rich harvest of pillage. The expectations held out by Pizarro had miserably failed. So odious had his schemes of conquest become at Panama, that ballads were circulated among the people, in which he was styled the butcher; and Almagro, whose office it was to prepare supplies for his colleague, was called the drover. Pedro de los Rios, the new governor of Panama, obeyed the impulse of popular indignation, and not only prohibited the adventurers from raising recruits within his jurisdiction, but also sent a vessel to the island of Gorgona, where Pizarro had now established himself, to bring back those of his followers who had survived the influence of a peculiarly

unhealthy climate. Pizarro drew a line with his sword in the sand, and ordered those who were willing to depart and to relinquish the hopes of splendid conquests to cross it. All accepted the offer but twelve men. With these resolute adherents he remained upon the island, where he endured for some months all the miseries of want and exposure to the weather. At length a vessel arrived from Panama with succours; and Pizarro, whose courage was rather provoked than subdued by the hardships he had undergone, immediately determined to direct his course again to Peru. A voyage of only twenty days brought him within sight of that long-sought country. He touched at several places on the coast; and the Spaniards were no less astonished than gratified by the proofs they saw of industry and opulence among the people. But they had not force sufficient to make a settlement; and having satisfied themselves as to the wealth of the Peruvian empire, they returned in 1527 to Panama. Three years had nearly elapsed since the first expedition was fitted out for the conquest of Peru, and the funds of the associates were now quite exhausted by the expenses of their fruitless efforts. Yet they were far from abandoning an enterprise which they wanted means to prosecute. Their prospects were now brightened by a promising though tardy gleam of success; and hope took the office of calculation.

Pizarro proceeded to Spain, to solicit from the crown of Castile permission to conquer the empire of Peru; and all his demands were acceded to. He was appointed governor and captain-general of all the country which he should conquer, for an extent of two hundred leagues to the south of the river St. Iago. Before he left Spain, he received a supply of money from Cortez, who, having already amassed great wealth by his achievements in the New World, was willing to assist an old comrade who was about to commence a similar career.* His maternal uncle Francisco de Alcantara, and his three brothers,

* Perhaps there existed some family connection between Cortez and Pizarro. The mother of the former was named Catalina Pizarro.

Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalez, of whom the first alone was legitimate and a gentleman of education, attached themselves to his fortune and followed him.

When Pizarro arrived at Panama, he found Almagro highly incensed at the treacherous way in which his interests had been dealt with in the late negotiation: for while Luque had obtained the dignity of bishop, as originally agreed on between the associates, the command of a fortress was all that was allowed to him, and the rank of lieutenant-governor, for which he had stipulated, was withheld by his jealous colleague. Pizarro, however, had art enough to appease the natural irritation of a rough soldier, the levity of whose temper was as transiently affected by the sentiments of self-interest as by those of justice. The confederation was renewed, and preparations were made for the enterprise, the issue of which was no longer looked upon as doubtful.

But although the invasion of Peru had now received the sanction of royal authority, and was no longer the furtive project of a few obscure individuals, it was found difficult to collect persons willing to engage in what appeared an extremely hazardous undertaking. The armament fitted out for the conquest of a populous empire consisted of three small vessels, with one hundred and eighty soldiers, of whom thirty-six were horsemen. With this force Pizarro set sail in February, 1531, leaving Almagro behind to collect reinforcements. After a prosperous voyage of thirteen days he landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and immediately commenced his march southwards. On reaching the province of Coaque, the Spaniards surprised a Peruvian town, in which they found such a quantity of gold and silver as effectually removed all doubts, and seemed to justify the most sanguine expectations. Pizarro saw the advantages to be derived from this auspicious commencement. He immediately sent large remittances to Panama and to Nicaragua, in order to entice new followers by the display of his rapid success; and soon after was joined by detachments from the latter place, under the command of Sebastian Benal-

cazar and Hernando de Soto, both officers of great reputation.

As he imitated the policy of Cortez in the conquest of Mexico, he advanced directly towards the heart of the Peruvian empire; at the same time amusing the inca, or sovereign of the country, with the pretence that he came as the ambassador of a powerful monarch, and not with any hostile intentions. Atahualpa, the reigning inca, lulled into security by these professions, sent presents to Pizarro as evidences of his friendship, and allowed him to pursue his march unmolested to Caxamalca, where the court at that time resided. On his arrival at this place, Pizarro posted his troops in a court, in which some public buildings and ramparts of earth secured him from any sudden attack; and here he awaited the coming of Atahualpa, who had announced his intention of visiting the Spaniards the next day.

As soon as the sun rose, the Peruvian camp was all in motion. Atahualpa wished to dazzle the strangers by an imposing display of pomp and magnificence. Pizarro, on the other hand, keeping in his eye the success of Cortez and the fate of Montezuma, resolved to decide at once the destiny of Peru, by seizing the person of its monarch. A great part of the day was consumed by Atahualpa in preparations to heighten the splendour of his appearance. At length the procession was seen approaching by the Spaniards, when their patience was nearly exhausted by delay. Four harbingers, clothed in uniform, marched in front, to clear the way before the inca. Next came the prince himself, borne on a throne, and covered with plumes of feathers and ornaments of gold and silver. Some of his chief courtiers followed in similar state. Bands of singers and dancers hovered round the royal train; while troops, amounting, it is said, to thirty thousand men, accompanied the pageant.

The Spaniards, drawn up in order of battle, awaited in silence the approach of the Peruvian procession. When the inca was near enough to be addressed, father Valverde, the chaplain to the expedition, stepped for-

ward and delivered a speech, in which the most mysterious doctrines of religion were mixed with the most unwarrantable assumptions of political powers, and in which he exhorted the Peruvian monarch to embrace the Christian faith, and to acknowledge himself the vassal of the king of Spain. This harangue, of which all that was not unintelligible was highly offensive, drew from the inca, who appears not to have apprehended any danger from the handful of Spaniards whom he saw before him, a firm and contemptuous reply. The signal of attack was immediately given. Pizarro, with a chosen band, rushed forward to seize the inca; and, notwithstanding the zeal with which the Peruvians sought to defend the person of their monarch, the unfortunate Atahualpa was carried off a prisoner. An immense booty was found on the field; and this single stroke of fortune seemed at once to justify the hopes of the most ardent imaginations.

Some historians, in order to explain the facility with which the Spaniards made the conquest of Peru, are careful to explain the dissensions which at that time existed in the royal family, and which unquestionably distracted the force of the empire. But so great was the superiority in the field of the Spaniards above the simple natives of America, and so little did they scruple to employ the vilest arts of treachery and deceit, that the Peruvian empire, while it tempted them by its wealth, could hardly, under the most fortunate circumstances, have offered them any effectual resistance. How needless, and even impertinent, are explanations founded on the disordered state of Peru at the time of its invasion, will be evident to those who reflect that the Spaniards, though not above one hundred and sixty in number, and with only three musquets, marched direct into the heart of the empire; seized the inca by a mixture of violence and fraud; routed an army of thirty thousand Peruvians, and slew four thousand of them, without the loss of a single man on their own side. Proceedings of this nature do not belong to ordinary revolutions, and cannot be associated with subtle calculations.

The captive inca endeavoured to regain his liberty, by addressing his arguments to the predominant passion of the Spaniards — the love of gold. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet long and sixteen wide: this he engaged to fill with gold as high as he could reach with his hand, and Pizarro joyfully accepted the offer; though nothing was farther from his mind than to perform his part of the agreement, and, having received the ransom, to release his prisoner. The Spaniards watched impatiently the accumulation of the stipulated treasure; and at length, unable to contain themselves in the sight of so much wealth, they resolved to divide it before the whole quantity agreed on was collected. It was found to amount to a sum, which, taking into consideration the change in the value of the precious metals, would exceed three millions sterling. The share of each horseman was equivalent to about eight thousand pounds of our present money; that of the foot soldier was one fifth less. Many of Pizarro's followers, finding themselves now suddenly enriched beyond their most sanguine expectations, resolved to risk themselves no longer in the lottery of adventure, and solicited their dismissal. He readily allowed them to depart; convinced, that when they published their good fortune, crowds would throng to join his standard.

When Atahualpa had exhausted his resources, and proved no longer a convenient instrument to collect the treasures of his kingdom, the Spaniards began to talk of taking away his life. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru were, in views and sentiments, not superior to banditti, and knew no principle but that of acquiring the greatest possible booty. Their general rudeness and ignorance are evinced in the farcical display which they sometimes made of the forms of justice. Atahualpa was solemnly tried on a series of ridiculous charges; and, being found guilty, was condemned to be burned alive; but his sentence was mitigated on his allowing himself to be baptized, and he was strangled at the stake. Pizarro found little difficulty in suppressing the rebellions

which broke out after the death of the Peruvian prince. He founded, in an advantageous situation, the city of Los Reyes, since known by the name of Lima, corrupted from Rimac, the name of the valley in which it stands. The court of Spain, astonished at the immens quantity of treasure which he remitted as the royal portion of the spoils, rewarded the successful conquer with a grant of seventy leagues of coast in addition to what had already been assigned him, and bestowed on him the title of marquess.

Almagro, who from interested motives had warmly urged the execution of the inca, now made preparations for the conquest of Chili, where a tract extending a hundred leagues along the coast had been granted him by the crown of Spain. In marching southwards to invade that country, the Spaniards endured severities of climate surpassing any thing they had hitherto experienced. In the rugged and elevated regions by which they penetrated into Chili, the cold was so intense that several men and horses were frozen to death; and five months afterwards, when the army was returning to Peru, they were found in the same positions and in the same state as when they had been first overpowered by the cold. Almagro found the inhabitants of Chili to be a strong and courageous race, who, though unable to withstand the Spaniards, were not to be speedily subdued. They were clad in the skins of seals and sea-wolves, and showed great address in the use of the bow and arrow. The Spaniards were at a loss what measures to adopt in order to secure themselves in their conquest, when unexpected events recalled Almagro to Peru.

The possession of Cuzco, the capital of the incas, had been long a subject of dispute between him and Pizarro; but the latter, with his usual dexterity, had contrived to over-reach his colleague, and persuaded him to remain satisfied at first with the conquest of Chili. When the roval patents arrived, however, Almagro became convinced that the city of Cuzco lay within his territory. Intelligence at the same time reached him that the Pe-

ruvians had flown to arms; that they threatened to overwhelm the Spaniards by their superior numbers; and were actually besieging Cuzco with the greater part of their army. Anxious to preserve his countrymen from destruction, and still more to save from the hands of the enemy the city on which he had set his affections, he hastened to return to Peru; and while he avoided the rigorous climate of the mountains, he lost a great number of men in the parched dry deserts of the sea coast through which he passed. On his arrival at Cuzco, Almagro found that the Peruvians had already made themselves masters of half the city, while a handful of Spaniards, under the command of Ferdinand and Gonzalez Pizarro, still obstinately defended the other half. He totally routed the Peruvian army; took the Pizarros prisoners; and thus obtained possession of the city. Yet his triumph was of but short duration: the wily governor resorted to negotiations till both his brothers were out of Almagro's power; and he then prepared openly to decide the quarrel by arms. Almagro, weighed down by the infirmities of age, was unable to make his wonted exertions in the battle that ensued. He was totally defeated and taken prisoner. Although little danger was to be apprehended from one of his advanced years, now that his party was dispersed, yet, as he had lately had the Pizarros in his power, personal animosity and a spirit of revenge decided his doom, and he was condemned to die. The courage of the veteran shrunk from the ignominy of the scaffold, and he stooped to entreaties in order to save his life; but when he found his enemies inexorable, he resumed his fortitude, and met his fate with a firmness worthy of his reputation.

After the death of Almagro, the government of Chili was bestowed on Pedro de Valdivia, who advanced into that country as far as the fortieth degree of southern latitude. At the same time, the Spaniards in South America pushed forward their discoveries in other directions with an activity and dauntless perseverance which it is astonishing to contemplate. Vadillo, in 1537,

marched with a few followers from Uraba, on the Gulf of Darien, to the southern limits of Peru, a distance of 1200 leagues. This journey, a great part of which lay through mountains and unfrequented forests, was looked upon at the time as the most extraordinary ever performed. In 1533, Benalcazar, an officer of Pizarro's, subdued the province of Quito; but he had not been long in possession of the country, when he was alarmed by the approach of a formidable competitor. Alvarado, who had served with great distinction under Cortez, and had been rewarded with the government of the southern provinces of New Spain, still panting for new acquisitions, determined to assert his right to Quito, which he considered as lying within his jurisdiction. He accordingly invaded that country with an army of five hundred men,—a strong force among the adventurers of the New World; and advanced from the coast along the river Guayaquil, till he reached the elevated table-land of the interior. On ascending the mountains his troops experienced unusual and unexpected hardships;—intense cold, heavy snow, or else torrents of rain, perpetually incommoded them. They were sometimes overwhelmed by immense showers of ashes, thrown forth, as they afterwards learned, from volcanoes at a distance of eighty leagues. Great numbers of them fell victims to the difficulties of the road and to the scarcity of food. When at length the troops of Alvarado approached those of Benalcazar, both parties felt how foolish it was to contend for the single possession of regions so extensive, that their combined forces were hardly numerous enough even to explore them. An accommodation was proposed, and Alvarado consented to withdraw his army, on the receipt of a sum large enough not merely to indemnify him for the expenses of the expedition, but even for the relinquishment of his hopes.

An expedition of greater importance in its geographical results, and attended with circumstances of a peculiarly romantic character, issued a few years later from Quito. The mountainous country to the east of

that city was reported by the Indians to abound in aromatic productions, and particularly in cinnamon; from which circumstance the Spaniards gave it the name of *Los Canelos*. The difficult task of penetrating to those wild and remote regions, through hostile tribes of Indians, trackless forests, and over mountains covered with perpetual snow, was undertaken by Gonzalez Pizarro, who at this time had the government of Quito. He accordingly set forward on his march in 1540, with an army of 350 Spaniards, of whom nearly one half were horsemen, and about 4000 Indians. His progress over the mountains was retarded by impediments of a more fearful kind than any which he had anticipated. While the Spaniards were marching through the country of the Quixos, they felt repeatedly the shocks of a violent earthquake: the earth opened in many places, and swallowed up above 500 houses. The atmosphere shared in the general commotion. The thunder and lightning were incessant; and the rain fell in such torrents as quickly to deluge all the valleys, so as to cut off every communication between the Spaniards and the cultivated country, and to reduce them at once to absolute want. Farther on they were obliged to cross a lofty ridge of the Andes, on the top of which the cold was so intense, that many of the attendant Indians were frozen to death. At length Gonzalez reached the province of Zumaco, where the cinnamon trees were found in the greatest abundance. Throughout the whole of the country these trees were found in great numbers in the woods; but the Indians also cultivated them with much attention in their plantations, and the cultivated trees produced a much better cinnamon than those which grew wild. The inhabitants of Zumaco carried on an advantageous trade by means of it; exchanging it for provisions and whatever else they stood in need of. *

* Zarate, Hist. del Peru. The Winter's bark and white cinnamon of America are very different from the true cinnamon of Ceylon and Cochin China. The tree (a species of laurel) which produces the latter, was introduced towards the close of the last century into St. Domingo and French Guiana, where it is at present cultivated with very little mercantile success.

From Zumaco, Gonzalez proceeded to explore the country to the east. He followed the course of a river till he arrived at a place where the whole stream fell over a height of 600 feet: the noise of the cataract could be heard distinctly six leagues off. The Spaniards marched fifty leagues along the banks of this river without being able to find a place where they could cross over. At length they came to a spot where the crags, jutting out at an immense height above the channel of the river, approached each other so closely, as to permit the construction of a temporary bridge by throwing some trees across. After passing the river the Spaniards had to march through a flat country, intersected by floods and marshes; and in some places so covered with wood, that they found it extremely difficult to cut their way through it. Wild fruits were now their only subsistence. Gonzalez deemed it necessary to build a bark, in order to search for provisions along the rivers, as well as to transport the baggage and the sick. Every one, without regard to rank, was obliged to labour in its construction. The worn-out shirts of the Spaniards were used to caulk the seams; and the gums that exuded from some of the forest trees served instead of pitch and tar. Relying on the advantages to be derived from this small vessel, Gonzalez continued to advance in spite of all the difficulties that beset his progress. He penetrated in this way above 200 leagues, always following the course of the river, until the supply of roots and berries became so scanty, that it was necessary to have recourse to some bold expedient in order to procure food for the famished army. Gonzalez, in consequence, ordered Francisco de Orellana, one of his chief captains, to proceed expeditiously down the river with fifty men in search of provisions; and, having loaded the bark with a plentiful supply, to return, leaving all the baggage at a place where two great rivers joined, according to the information received from the Indians.

Orellana accordingly went forward, and found the statement of the Indians respecting the confluence of the

two great rivers to be correct. The stream which he had been descending was a tributary of the great river Maragnon, perhaps the Napo, which, at the point where he had arrived, joins the main stream, or Western Amazons, as it is now called. But during his voyage he met with no populous villages or cultivated fields; nothing was to be seen around but flooded plains, or the gloomy solitude of impenetrable forests. Curiosity, and the ambition of discovery, now prompted Orellana to float down the majestic stream on which he was embarked, and to neglect the orders of Pizarro. Perhaps he was likewise urged to that conduct by some feeling of necessity. His exhausted crew were quite unable to row back against the current to rejoin their companions; and if they should succeed in the attempt, of what use would it be, since they had not procured any provisions? By his returning to the main body no distress could be alleviated, but all seemed threatened with a common destruction; if he continued to descend the river, on the other hand, his own party might be saved, and discoveries made that would compensate, in some measure, the disasters of the expedition. On the last day of the year 1540, the Spaniards under his command, having eaten their shoes and some saddles boiled with a few wild herbs, commenced their adventurous voyage, and abandoned themselves to the current of the river to convey them they knew not whither. The very imperfect accounts which remain to us of Orellana's voyage are filled with wild tales and fanciful exaggerations not ill suited to the spirit of the enterprise or the age in which it was undertaken. Many of his companions perished in conflicts with the warlike tribes of Indians whom they met with in their progress. After incredible sufferings borne with courageous resignation, and difficulties encountered with equal skill and perseverance, he reached the sea in August, 1541, after having navigated the river above a thousand leagues, and contrived to steer his frail bark to the colony at Cubagua. Here he bought a vessel, and returned to Spain, where he

related his adventures with all the decorations that hope and imagination could suggest. He was the first who propagated the fable of an El Dorado or country abounding so much in riches, that the roofs of the temples were covered with gold. He also told of certain nations of female warriors, inhabiting the banks of the river, to which, on that account, he gave the name of the river of Amazons. Some have called it the Orellana, in honour of the illustrious adventurer who first explored its whole extent; but the name of Maragnon or Maranham (perhaps a native one) is of older date, and was probably made known to Europe by Yanez Pinzon. Orellana obtained from the Spanish government a grant of extensive territories in the fertile regions which he had discovered, and returned in 1549 with a numerous train of followers to effect a settlement; but he fell a victim soon after to the diseases of a moist and sultry climate, and the infant colony immediately dispersed.

When Gonzalez Pizarro arrived at the confluence of the Napo and the Maragnon, and saw no sign of Orellana, whom he expected to meet there with a good supply of provisions, he was overwhelmed with dismay. He had never suspected the fidelity of that officer; and now, when he found himself deserted by him, his eyes suddenly opened to the horrors of his situation. He had advanced 400 leagues from Quito into wild and solitary forests, in which he could find neither shelter nor subsistence. The difficulties which his soldiers had to encounter in penetrating so far, were now doubled in the eyes of men dispirited and enfeebled by such a continuance of suffering and privation. No course, however, was left but to return. His followers were reduced to such extremities as to feed on their horses and dogs, their saddles, sword belts, the coarsest roots, and even whatever reptiles they could collect. After incredible sufferings he reached Peru, having been absent nearly two years, with about eighty Spaniards remaining of the 350 who had marched with him. Above 4000 Indians are said to have perished in this disastrous expedition.

In the absence of Gonzalez Pizarro, a most important revolution had taken place. Those who were dissatisfied with the arbitrary conduct of the governor, Francisco Pizarro, among whom were all the followers of Almagro, gathered round the son of that unfortunate general as round a common centre. Young Almagro united the advantages of a good education to the generous disposition and frankness of manner which had made his father so great a favourite with the soldiers. His faction rapidly augmented, while the governor, secure in the terror which his name inspired, took no precautions, though apprised of his danger. At length, on the 26th of June, 1541, a party of the conspirators, headed by Juan de Herrada, a distinguished officer, issued in complete armour from Almagro's house, and forced their way into the governor's palace; Pizarro defended himself bravely against his numerous assailants, but was at length overpowered, and receiving a stab in the throat, immediately expired. He left behind him no legitimate children to inherit his title and estates; and, on the death of his brothers, which took place a few years later, his family became extinct.

CHAP. VII.

CONQUESTS OF THE SPANIARDS.

BRAZIL NEGLECTED BY THE PORTUGUESE. — DIEGO ALVAREZ SHIPWRECKED ON THE SHORES OF THAT COUNTRY; SPARED BY THE SAVAGES, AND BECOMES A CACIQUE. — VISITS EUROPE, AND RETURNS TO BRAZIL. — COLONY OF JANEIRO FOUNDED. — SEBASTIAN CABOT EXPLORES THE RIVER LA PLATA. — ASCENDS THE PARANA. — PEDRO DE MENDOZA FOUNDS THE CITY OF BUENOS AYRES. — AYOLAS ASCENDS THE RIVER PARAGUAY, AND CROSSES THE MOUNTAINS TO PERU. — YRALA COMPLETES HIS DISCOVERY. — NARVAEZ UNDERTAKES THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA. — PENETRATES TO APALACHEN. — HIS CALAMITOUS RETREAT. — ADVENTURES OF HIS TREASURER, ALVARO NUNEZ. — THE SAVAGES SHOCKED AT THE CANNIBALISM OF THE SPA-

NIARDS. — ALVARO TURNS MERCHANT AND PHYSICIAN TO THE INDIANS. — TRAVELS FROM FLORIDA TO MEXICO. — FLORIDA BESTOWED ON HERNANDO DE SOTO. — HIS UNHAPPY FATE. — ALVARO NUNEZ MADE GOVERNOR OF LA PLATA. — HIS JOURNEY FROM THE COAST TO THE PARANA. — CALAMITOUS TERMINATION OF HIS COMMAND. — JOURNEY OF MARCOS DE NIZZA TO CIVOLA. — EXPEDITION OF ALARCHON AND CORONADO IN SEARCH OF THE SEVEN CITIES. — THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT. — SUPPOSED INVENTION OF A STEAM SHIP BY GARAY. — RAPID DECLINE OF ENERGY IN THE SPANISH COLONIES.

By the conquest of Mexico and Peru, the Spaniards became masters of extensive territories, in which there already existed some degree of social organisation, and in which an intercourse between the several provinces was more or less intimately maintained. The acquisition of dominions enjoying such advantages of internal communication increased the activity of the conquerors as much as their power. As distance from control, no less than the excitement that accompanies romantic enterprise, is apt to loosen the bonds of authority, the first adventurers in America, thinly scattered over immense regions, where the stupendous magnificence of nature works so powerfully on the imagination, frequently threw off all obedience to government, and sallied forth on the wildest and most daring schemes of independent discovery. Nor was it merely in Peru and Mexico that this active spirit displayed itself: in every part of the New World it expanded with equal force; and had other empires of equal wealth and population been met with, there would not have been wanting heroes to subdue them. The energy with which a few thousand Europeans spread themselves as conquerors over the American continent within a few years after its discovery, is among the most extraordinary phenomena in the history of mankind. But to what purpose would it be to relate all the details of the various expeditions fitted out to colonise and survey that fertile quarter of the globe? The reader would soon be fatigued with the frequent repetition of similar events; of easy victories obtained over the Indians, and of wanton cruelties committed by

the Spaniards. It will be sufficient for the object of this work to give a brief account of those who were chiefly instrumental in making Europe acquainted with the full extent of the New World.

The Portuguese, though zealous in asserting their right to the sovereignty of Brazil, nevertheless neglected that country for many years after it was definitively ceded to them. Their eastern possessions held out much stronger inducements to national exertion and private enterprise. Ships of all nations resorted indiscriminately to the shores of Brazil to cut dye-woods; and notwithstanding an interesting accident which drew a momentary attention towards it, that country seemed destined to become a sort of common to European traders. A Portuguese adventurer named Diogo Alvarez, a native of Viana, while seeking a cargo of dye-woods on the coasts of Brazil, happened to be shipwrecked among the shoals north of the bay of Bahia: some of the crew were drowned, the rest were captured and devoured by the natives. Diogo, aware that he had no chance of escaping a similar fate but by convincing the savages of his utility, exerted himself to the utmost in saving whatever he could from the wreck; and he gained their favour so completely that his life was spared. Among the articles which he had the good fortune to bring to shore, were some barrels of gunpowder and a musket. A few days afterwards he shot a bird in the presence of some of the natives, who called him, in consequence, *Caramuru* or the man of fire. His reputation was now established among the savages; and, as he promised to make war upon their enemies, they immediately marched forth with him against the nation of the Tapuyas. But the fame of Caramuru had gone before him; the Tapuyas fled, and abandoned their country to the allies of the shipwrecked mariner. When once adopted by the Indian tribe, he soon obtained a rank proportioned to his abilities; and from a slave he became a sovereign. He married the daughters of several chieftains, who were proud of his alliance; and the principal families in

Bahia at present trace their descent from him. After the lapse of some years, he embarked on board a French vessel with his favourite Indian wife Paraguazu: his other wives were so disconsolate at the thoughts of losing him, that they attempted to swim after the vessel which carried him away from them; and one persisted in the mad effort until her strength was exhausted, and she sunk before his eyes. When Diogo arrived in France and related his singular adventures, he was received most favourably at court, but was not allowed to proceed to Portugal according to his intention. He found means, nevertheless, of conveying to his sovereign such information respecting the country which he had visited as might be serviceable in prompting or directing the establishment of a colony. The court of France, though desirous to have the exclusive benefit of his experience, did not oppose his returning to Brazil. He set sail for that country accordingly, taking with him, among other things, some artillery and a good stock of ammunition, so as to ensure his ascendancy among the native tribes. In return for the cargoes of the two vessels that he took with him, he undertook to freight them with the productions of the country.

Notwithstanding the presage of success afforded by the adventures of Diogo, the Portuguese government paid no attention to their possessions in America till 1531, when the first Brazilian colony was founded by Martim Alfonso de Sousa. He met with no opposition from the natives, who were conciliated towards him by the friendly offices of a Portuguese sailor who had been shipwrecked on that coast. Sousa built the town of Janeiro, so called from his arriving at that spot on the first of January; he likewise introduced the sugar-cane into his colony, the early success of which gave ample promise of its future importance.

The Spaniards, confined in their rage of adventure to the New World, manifested much greater zeal to colonise the territories of which they claimed the sovereignty. The cruel fate of Solis, indeed, appears to have dissipated

for a time all thoughts of forming a settlement on the great river to which he gave his name; and it was not till the year 1526 that the project was revived. In that year Diego Garcia was sent with a single ship to the river of Solis; but as he lingered on his way at the Canary islands, he was anticipated in his discoveries by Sebastian Cabot. That celebrated navigator had sailed from Spain a few months later than Garcia, with four ships, and orders to proceed to the East Indies by the straits of Magellan. On touching at the mouth of the river in which Solis had lost his life, he found two Spaniards who had deserted from that commander, besides fifteen other stragglers from subsequent expeditions. All these men concurred in representing the country up the river as singularly rich in the precious metals; and easily persuaded Cabot to proceed in that direction. Leaving the large vessels at anchor in that part of the river where Buenos Ayres was afterwards built, Cabot proceeded to ascend the stream in small barks constructed for the purpose. He followed the course of the river Parana till he came to the rapids in latitude 27° 27′ 20″; remained there a month with the Guarany Indians; and then returned, after an absence of a year. He had not descended above thirty leagues below the Paraguay when he met Garcia, who claimed an undivided authority in these regions, the expedition of Cabot having been unequivocally destined to the East Indies.

The rival commanders, however, at length agreed to continue their discoveries jointly. Cabot, in the mean time, contrived to send home to the emperor an account of his proceedings; and as he had found among the savages of the interior some ornaments of gold and silver, which he easily obtained in exchange for various trinkets, he took advantage of this slender circumstance to represent the country as abounding in those metals; and, in conformity with his description, he gave the river the name of La Plata,—a name which it still preserves, though it is now known that the country along its banks affords no trace whatever of the precious metals.

The king of Spain was satisfied with the conduct of Cabot; commanded him to continue his conquest; and even promised him assistance. The wealth which had recently poured in from Mexico rendered the court cautious how it damped the ardour of adventurers. But as the royal treasures were at this time in an exhausted state, a commission to conquer and to rule the wealthy country of La Plata was readily granted to Pedro de Mendoza, a gentleman of fortune, who undertook to make the necessary preparations at his own expense. Sebastian Cabot accordingly returned to Spain in 1530.

Mendoza embarked for his government with fourteen ships and a train of 2500 followers. Soon after his arrival in the La Plata, in 1535, he founded the city of Buenos Ayres. Juan de Ayolas was despatched, at the same time, to select a favourable position for a settlement higher up the river. He ascended the Paraguay above a thousand miles, till he reached nearly the twenty-first degree of latitude; then, leaving Domingo Martinez de Yrala to command the vessels, with orders to wait six months for his return, he struck off to the west with about two hundred Spaniards, in the hopes of being able to penetrate to Peru. In this he succeeded: crossing the countries of the Chacas and Chiquitas, he arrived on the borders of Peru in 1537, and having received some supplies from the governor of the province, returned to the Paraguay; but the six months had already elapsed, and Yrala was gone. Ayolas, thus left to shift for himself, became embroiled with the Indian nations; and, being surprised by the Mbayas, was massacred with all his companions. Twelve years later Yrala made a second attempt to accomplish the same arduous undertaking. Ascending the Paraguay to the seventeenth degree of latitude, he crossed the mountains to the river Guapay, and, after enduring incredible fatigues, succeeded in establishing a communication between Peru and its dependency the government of La Plata.

A variety of circumstances concurred to direct the principal afflux of Spanish adventurers to the continent

of South America. But few tried their fortune by pushing towards the north, and the sufferings of these deterred others from following in their footsteps. Narvaez, the officer sent by Velasquez to dispossess Cortez of his authority in New Spain, and who was taken prisoner by that bold leader as above related *, was desirous to efface by some signal exploit the memory of his defeat on that occasion. He had interest to obtain the title of adelantado, and a commission to conquer and to rule the extensive territories extending from Cape das Palmas to Cape Florida; and having raised a force of about six hundred men, set sail from St. Lucar, in June, 1527. The treasurer to the armament was Alvaro Nunez, surnamed Cabeza de Vaca, whose singular personal adventures form the most interesting portion of the account which he afterwards wrote of the expedition. While waiting to take in supplies at Cuba, Narvaez and his companions experienced the fury of a hurricane such as is rarely felt in any other region of the globe. The houses were blown down; and when the affrighted inhabitants fled to the woods for shelter, their terror was increased at the sight of the largest trees torn up by the roots, and scattered in every direction by the violence of the winds. The fleet suffered so much from this storm, that it was found necessary to desist from any further operations during the winter.

In February, 1528, the armament put to sea, and, after encountering much rough weather, reached the coast of Florida. The country was taken possession of with the usual solemnities; but nothing was found here to gratify the cupidity of the Spaniards. When the natives were questioned respecting some golden ornaments seen with them, they all pointed to Apalachen, a country situated at a distance in the interior, as the quarter whence these and other commodities were derived. Narvaez, who had no positive knowledge of the country or the adjoining seas, was disposed to yield himself up to the guidance of hope and imagination; and being at a loss what

* See page 58.

course he ought in prudence to take, resolved to press forward into the interior and invade Apalachen. The intelligent Alvaro strongly urged the danger of commencing an arduous journey without guides or provisions, and before some secure haven had been found for the fleet. But the insinuation that he slunk from difficulties silenced his remonstrances, and made him declare his determination to follow his countrymen into every extremity.

On the 1st of May, 1528, the Spaniards commenced their march into the interior. They had little more than a single day's provision; when that slender stock was consumed, they were obliged to satisfy their hunger with roots and the fruit of the wild palm tree. For fifteen days they travelled without meeting with a human habitation. At the end of that time they arrived at an Indian village, where they found guides to conduct them to Apalachen. The country which they had to traverse was wild and unequal; sometimes mountainous, but more frequently overspread with deep marshes, rendered nearly impassable by the huge trees blown down and lying across them in every direction. At length, on the 26th of June, the wearied Spaniards arrived in sight of an Indian village, which they were told was Apalachen. They found no difficulty in rendering themselves masters of the place. But they had not remained here many days, when they perceived on what a chimerical foundation all their plans were reared. In Apalachen they found nothing. The exasperated Indians lurked in the woods, and watched all their movements: to advance was useless, if not impossible, from the difficulty of the country; and retreat was exposed to the worst ills of Indian warfare. But retreat was now necessary; and the Spaniards, relinquishing the fancied wealth of Apalachen, directed their march towards the sea-coast in the country of Ante, at present called the bay of St. Mark. Unspeakable hardships awaited them. Nearly a third of their number perished by the arrows of the Indians; and of the remainder a large proportion laboured under disease, brought on by fatigue and privation.

When the Spaniards arrived at the sea-shore in this lamentable plight, it was obvious that the attempt to march along the coast in search of the fleet would probably lead to their destruction. No alternative remained but to construct vessels, and encounter at once the hazards of the sea. Their shirts were sewn together for sails, and ropes were made of the fibrous bark of the palm tree. A horse was killed every third day, and its flesh distributed in small portions to the workmen and to the sick. So zealously did they labour, that in little more than six weeks they had completed five boats, capable of holding from forty to fifty men each. In these small barks they put to sea, although they were so crowded that the gunwales of their overladen boats were but a few inches above the water; yet desperation urged them on. For some weeks they endured all the miseries of want and anxiety. At an Indian village on the coast they obtained some trifling relief; but, quarrelling with the natives, they were obliged to re-embark with precipitation. In these desperate circumstances Narvaez resigned the authority which he was unable to use beneficially. As his boat was well manned he hastened forward, leaving his companions to shift for themselves in the best way they could. The boat commanded by Alvaro reached a small island after some days of extreme suffering, when the exhausted crew had hardly strength enough to crawl on shore upon their hands and feet. The Indians took pity on their wretched condition, and loaded them with fruits, fish, and whatever provisions the island afforded. A stock of these being formed, Alvaro prepared to continue his voyage; but just as the Spaniards were embarking, a wave overset the boat, which sunk with all their clothes. Three of the crew were drowned by this accident; the remainder threw themselves naked on the sand.

No resource now remained to the survivors but the compassion of the savages, who generously shared with them the few comforts they possessed. But some of the Spaniards, who had witnessed the rites with which

the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners, felt for a long time more horror than consolation from the care bestowed on them by the natives; supposing that they were destined to be devoured when restored to health. The liberality of the savages proved greater than their industry: as winter approached they felt the scourge of famine, and the Spaniards, who were instrumental in causing, were the chief sufferers by, this scarcity of food. Some other of the followers of Narvaez, thrown on the same coast, had been reduced to such extremities as to devour one another; a deed which shocked the Indians so much that they never afterwards regarded the Spaniards favourably. Alvaro and his companions were, in consequence, reduced to the condition of slaves, and treated with much severity; as all the calamities of want and disease from which the Indians suffered, were ascribed by them to the presence of these wicked strangers.

Alvaro at length made his escape to the continent, where he contrived to set on foot a singular traffic. He carried into the interior shells and other marine productions, and for these he brought back in exchange red ochre, with which the savages daubed themselves; hides for thongs; canes and flints for the manufacture of arrows. In his capacity of merchant, Alvaro acquired great estimation among all the savage tribes, whose perpetual hostilities made them feel the want of a neutral hand to manage the little commerce which they were capable of sustaining one with another. After spending some years in this occupation, Alvaro grew weary of so hopeless an exile, and determined to encounter any peril in the attempt to revisit his native country. His only chance was to reach Mexico overland; and in this daring project of crossing such an extent of country, inhabited by savage tribes, and hitherto unexplored, he was joined by two companions in misfortune, Andrea Dorante and Alonzo de Castiglio.

The three wanderers suffered severely at the outset of their journey: the first tribe they encountered was the

most barbarous they ever met with. The wretched Spaniards were reduced to slavery, and compelled to subsist on worms, loathsome reptiles, fish bones, and even wood. The savages, their masters, were in that abject condition in which parental attachment is unequal to the care of rearing a family; and it was their practice to expose all their female offspring. When the summer arrived, and the woods were loaded with fruits, Alvaro and his companions contrived to escape during the festivities in which the savages celebrated this season of temporary abundance. The Indian nation which he next arrived at offered him a better reception: and the respect shown to him as a stranger was very much increased when he began to display his medical skill; for he had learned on the coast that pretensions of this sort might be profitably united to the business of a merchant. By blowing on his patients, or muttering certain words, according to the nature of the case, he wrought many wonderful cures, and, as he relates, on one occasion even raised a dead man to life: nor will this bold assertion shake our confidence in the general veracity of his narrative, when we consider how easy it is to work miracles among the ignorant; and how naturally we imbibe the most absurd persuasions, if they tend to raise us in our own esteem. The three Spaniards, now reverenced as the children of the sun, were escorted in their journey to the west by a troop of their admirers, who proclaimed as they went along their wondrous virtues and preternatural gifts; and this impulse, once given to the superstitious admiration of the Indians, was easily propagated from tribe to tribe. Alvaro, travelling westward, crossed a great river (the Mississippi), and then entered upon those deserts which separate the territories of Mexico from those of the United States. In answer to his enquiries respecting the Christians, he was informed that a wicked nation so named dwelt to the south-west; and was warned not to have any dealing with that mischievous and inhuman people. These accusations he found to be not quite groundless; for when

he approached the Mexican frontiers, it was with difficulty he could prevent the Spaniards from reducing to slavery the Indians who accompanied him as guides; and when he remonstrated with them for their brutal conduct he was himself made prisoner, and experienced greater severities from his own countrymen than from any of the savage tribes among whom he had wandered. When he arrived in the interior of the country, however, where the manners of the colonists were less violent and licentious than on the borders, he was treated with abundant courtesy and respect, and liberally supplied with every thing he wanted. In the following year he embarked for Europe; and arrived at Lisbon in August, 1537.

When Alvaro arrived in Spain, he applied for a grant of territory and a government in Florida, to which he was eminently entitled according to the principles by which the court affected to guide itself in bestowing such gifts. But he was forestalled in his suit by a rival possessing overwhelming interest. Hernando de Soto, one of the most distinguished captains of Pizarro's army, had returned to Spain from the conquest of Peru with immense wealth, and all the reputation which brilliant success is sure to add to competent abilities. By his judicious liberality at court, he won the unbounded favour of the emperor, whose pecuniary difficulties made him quick to discern the merits of a wealthy subject. Soto, who had acted but a subordinate part in Peru, imagined that in a higher station he might expect the same good fortune and more conspicuous fame. He accordingly asked for and easily obtained the government of Florida—ambition rendering him blind to the lesson inculcated by the failure of Narvaez. So ample were his means, and so great his reputation, that he was able to equip an armament of ten ships, on board of which were 900 men, most of them trained to arms.

In May, 1539, Soto disembarked on the coast of Florida. But he was disappointed in all his hopes of gaining the confidence of the native chieftains: neither

by kindness, nor patience, nor demonstrations of his power, could he succeed in conquering their deeply rooted aversion to the Spanish name. After fighting many battles to little purpose; after proceeding a long way into the interior, towards the north-west, without finding the expected treasures of gold and silver; after subduing many Indian nations without making a single settlement; Soto died in the fourth year of his ill-fated enterprise. His companions, long tired of their fruitless labours, lost all courage on his death. They immediately resolved to abandon Florida for ever; and making their way to the sea-shore, pursued by the Indians, who were now emboldened by the dejection of their adversaries, hastily embarked for Mexico. Here they were kindly treated, but the exasperation of disappointment long hindered them from incorporating with the mass of peaceable and industrious citizens.

Alvaro Nunez, whose just claims to the government of Florida had been so unwisely slighted at court, was appointed, in 1540, to succeed Mendoza in the province of Buenos Ayres. Having lost two of his vessels on the coast of Brazil, he determined to proceed by land; a bold measure, in which the experience acquired by a ten years' residence among savage nations rendered him peculiarly qualified to succeed. Ascending the river Ytabucu, opposite to the island of St. Catharine, he reached a chain of desert mountains, which he crossed, and in nineteen days arrived in the fertile country of the Guaranys. Here he purchased canoes, in which the sick and delicate embarked to descend the Parana. He himself, with the remainder of his troop, continued his journey by land, and after a four months' march reached his capital in safety. His authority, however, was not of long continuance; by his zeal to protect the Indians from oppression he gave offence to the colonists, who rebelled against him in 1544, and sent him back a prisoner to Spain. Eight years were suffered to elapse before that dilatory court proceeded to examine his complaints, or those of his adversaries. The trial at

length took place, and Alvaro was fully acquitted of all the charges brought against him: but his accusers were allowed to go unpunished; he was not reinstated in his command; nor did he receive any indemnification for the injuries he had received.*

The arrival of Alvaro Nunez on the north-western frontier of Mexico, after accomplishing his extraordinary journey through so many savage tribes, and the information which he gave respecting them, excited a lively interest in New Spain to extend the boundaries of geographical knowledge in that quarter. The viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza accordingly sent Marcos de Nizza, a Franciscan monk, to explore, as far as possible, the country towards the north. In 1539, the monk returned with an account of a nation so rich that their domestic utensils of the most humble description were made of gold. Cevola, or Cibola, one of their cities, appeared to him to contain twenty thousand houses, mostly built of stone, and several stories in height. Of this wealthy country the monk claimed possession clandestinely, by setting up a small cross on which was inscribed the name of the viceroy of New Spain. This relation of De Nizza filled all Mexico with hope and exultation. Two expeditions were fitted out: one, to proceed by sea, was entrusted to the care of Fernando de Alarchon; the other, placed under the command of Vasquez de Coronado, was to invade the *Seven Cities* by land,—for the old legend of the Seven Christian Cities was revived by De Nizza.† Coronado and his army endured extreme sufferings in their march over rugged mountains or arid deserts. The road was far more difficult and much longer than they had been led to imagine. Although their experience of the journey had taught them to doubt the veracity of the monk, yet when they at length arrived at Civola, and found, instead of a great city

* Southey's History of Brazil, vol. i. p. 153. Azara, in his account of Paraguay, views the character of Alvaro Nunez less favourably; and says that the council of the Indies, on examining into his conduct, treated him with more severity than his enemies, and sentenced him to banishment in Africa. Voyage dans l'Amérique Meridionale, vol. ii. p. 366.

† See vol. i. p. 385.

abounding in gold and silver, only a large village of about four hundred houses, without any trace of the precious metals, nothing could equal their rage and disappointment. The inhabitants, indeed, were more civilised, and the country more populous, than was usual in the New World; and these circumstances, exaggerated in the relations of the rude Indian tribes, appear to have given rise to the fictions which so long imposed on the Spaniards. Coronado having learned that Quivira, a maritime city, was the most populous in this part of America, reached it across a route of 300 leagues. He found it really much superior to any of the seven of which the fame had been so widely blazoned. The sobriety of Coronado's relation, and the vestiges of ancient civilisation which are found in that part of America, go far to vindicate him from the imputation of inventing fables. Nevertheless, though Quivira was for a long time after the grand object of Spanish enterprise, no city of that name or site was ever again recognised. The peculiar breed of sheep (as he called them), which constituted the sole wealth of the country, remains still but imperfectly known to naturalists. The maritime expedition under Alarchon returned without effecting any discovery of importance. The fabulous city of Civola was placed in old maps in 37° north latitude. Quivira was situated four degrees farther to the north, in the very region pointed out by native historians as the original country of the Mexicans.*

The extraordinary energy of character developed among the Spanish adventurers in the colonies, by the free scope allowed to the exercise of their talents, appears to have communicated a momentary impulse to the parent state, and to have prompted attention, in particular, to the principles of commerce and to the arts connected with naval affairs. As early as 1517, the monks of Hispaniola recommended to the court the establishment of a perfectly free trade between Spain and the West Indies. This wise counsel was urgently

* Humboldt, Essai Pol. sur la Nouvelle Espagne, tom. ii. p. 420.

repeated in 1527; yet two centuries and a half elapsed before that bigoted and suspicious government could learn to relax the bonds of despotism, and adopt the system which its interest dictated. The damage done to shipping in the West India seas by the teredo worm (as experienced by Columbus in his fourth voyage) soon taught the necessity of protecting the bottoms of vessels by a metallic sheathing; and already, in 1514, the Spaniards employed lead for that purpose.* But the invention which Spanish historians are most zealous in claiming for their countrymen of the sixteen century, is that of the steam-vessel. This claim, which has been but recently advanced, rests upon the following statement, collected from documents preserved in the royal archives of Simancas.

"In 1543, Blasco de Garay, a captain of a ship, offered to the emperor Charles V. to construct a machine capable of propelling large vessels, even in a calm and without the aid of sails or oars. In spite of the opposition which his project met with, the emperor consented to witness the experiment; and it was made accordingly in the port of Barcelona, on the 17th of June, 1543. Garay would not uncover his machinery or show it publicly; but it was evident that it consisted of a caldron of boiling water, and of two wheels set in motion by that means, and applied externally on each side of the vessel. The experiment was made on the Trinidad, a ship of 200 tons, laden with corn.

"The persons commissioned by the emperor to report on the invention in general approved of it, and praised, in particular, the readiness with which the vessel tacked about. The treasurer Ravago, however, who was hostile to the plan, said that a ship with the proposed machinery might go at the rate of about two leagues in three hours; that the apparatus was complex and expensive; and, finally, that there was great danger of the boiler bursting. The other commissioners maintained, that a vessel so equipped might go at the rate of a league an hour at

* Navarrete, tom. i. p. 292. French trans.

the least, and would tack about in half the time required by an ordinary ship. When the exhibition was over, Garay took away the apparatus from the Trinidad. The wood-work was deposited in the arsenal at Barcelona: the rest of the machinery he kept himself. Notwithstanding the objections raised by Ravago, the emperor affected to favour the project of Garay; but his attention at the time was engrossed by other matters. He promoted Garay, however; gave him a sum of money, besides paying the expenses of the experiment made at Barcelona; and showed him other favours." *

If it be admitted that this contrivance of Garay was identical in principle, at least, with our steam-engines, there is yet reason to doubt how far we ought to commemorate in a history of useful inventions a germ of discovery never fairly brought into the light, and consigned to oblivion the moment it was seen. The ingenious men who have in our own times brought the steam-engine to such wonderful perfection lose nothing of the merit of originality by the prior inventions of a Spaniard whom they never heard of. Nor has the Spanish nation much reason to pride itself on the discovery of Garay; since the more we admire the genius of the individual, the more must we lament his illfortune in being the subject of a narrow-minded and illiberal government, capable of robbing him of his fair fame, and mankind of the benefits of his invention.

But it was not in this instance alone that the jealous policy of the Spanish government damped the ardour of the people and checked their progress in civilisation. The astonishing boldness and activity displayed by the conquerors of the New World, of which so many examples occur in the preceding chapters, were the virtues of adventurers released in a great measure from the restraints of authority. The court of Spain threw loose the reins to individual enterprise, and, for a share in the profit, connived at the violence and licentiousness which it pretended to denounce. But when the lawless-

* Navarrete, tom. i. p. 286.

93965

ness of the Spanish colonists ceased, their activity ceased with it. The causes which paralysed the energies of Spain in the sixteenth century extended their influence to its dependencies in the West. As soon as order and authority were established in the colonies, they sunk into a state of comparative torpor; and the zeal and success with which the Spaniards at first prosecuted geographical discoveries, is not more astonishing than the indifference with which they regarded them for centuries after.

CHAP. VIII.

CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

POLICY OF PORTUGAL WITH RESPECT TO ITS CONQUESTS IN INDIA. — CABRAL DESPATCHED WITH A FLEET. — DISCOVERS BRAZIL. — FATE OF BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ. — SUCCESS AND RETURN OF CABRAL. — JUAN DE NOVA DISCOVERS ASCENSION ISLAND AND ST. HELENA. — SECOND VOYAGE OF DE GAMA. — HE DISCOVERS THE SEYCHELLES. — VINCENT SODREZ VISITS THE RED SEA. — EXPEDITION UNDER FRANCISCO DE ALBUQUERQUE. — THE PORTUGUESE OBTAIN A FOOTING AT COCHIN. — ALMEYDA THE FIRST VICEROY. — HIS SUCCESSES AND MELANCHOLY END. — VICTORIES OF ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE. — HE TAKES GOA, CALICUT, MALACCA, AND ORMUZ. — HIS DEATH. — DISCOVERY OF THE ISLES OF TRISTAN D'ACUNHA — OF SUMATRA — AND OF MADAGASCAR. — FIRST VISIT TO CEYLON. — SERRANO DISCOVERS THE MOLUCCAS. — A COLONY FOUNDED THERE BY DE BRITTO. — TRADE ESTABLISHED WITH CHINA. — MISFORTUNE OF THE AMBASSADOR PEREIRA.

In the preceding chapters we have seen with what rapid strides the Spaniards advanced in the discovery and conquest of the New World. It was no sooner demonstrated that a voyage of a month or six weeks across the Atlantic Ocean conducted to fertile countries of indefinite extent, than all the difficulties of the navigation seemed suddenly to vanish, and numbers were found ready to trust their lives and fortunes to the sea, at a time when naval science was so imperfect that a very large proportion of those who ventured on long voyages were sure to perish. The

grand motive of all this enterprise was, in the first instance, the famed wealth of India. The ardent wish to arrive at the seat of so much riches even swayed the judgment of Columbus, and concealed from him the true nature of his own discoveries. The Portuguese, in the mean time, had reached the long sought goal by the Cape of Good Hope, and followed up their success with an alacrity worthy of so glorious an achievement. The court of Portugal had long prided itself on the encouragement it gave to maritime enterprise; and when the object of its long continued exertions was at length attained, it proceeded to reap the fruit of its discoveries with the same vigour with which it had prosecuted them hitherto. Instead, therefore, of following the policy adopted by Spain in the New World, and giving up India, on condition of future contingent benefits, to needy individuals of desperate fortunes, the crown of Portugal resolved to maintain its dignity and provide for its interests in the East by national armaments.

The expense incurred by the equipment of De Gama's expedition had caused not a little public discontentment: but so much more persuasive is success than reason; so much more does experience weigh with the bulk of mankind than all the arguments in the world; that the tide of popular sentiment was totally changed by the issue of the voyage, and those who had most loudly decried the passage to India as a wild chimera were now most sanguine in estimating its advantages. Soon after the return of Vasco de Gama, orders were issued for the preparation of a new and more imposing armament. The fleet destined for this second voyage to India consisted of no less than thirteen ships, well manned, and supplied with every thing that the naval experience of that age deemed requisite for the accomplishment of an arduous navigation. The command of the expedition was given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who carried with him a number of Franciscan monks to convert the nations of the East, and 1200 fighting men to strike terror into those who might seem disposed to treat him with hostility.

Cabral was accompanied by able officers, and appears to have been himself a navigator of eminent abilities. Aware of the difficulties and delays likely to be experienced near the coast of Africa from adverse winds and currents, he formed the resolution of holding his course far to the west of that continent, until he should arrive near the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope; and he actually persevered in this south-westerly course, until, in 17° southern latitude, he discovered land, to which he gave the name of *Santa Cruz*. He took possession of the country for the crown of Portugal; and the cross which he erected on that occasion is still preserved in Brazil.* This discovery appeared to him of such importance, that he immediately sent back a ship to Portugal to announce it: and although Vincent Yanez Pinzon had visited the same coast a few months earlier, the court of Spain relinquished, in this instance, the rights of priority; and the claims of the Portuguese to the sovereignty of Brazil were never disputed. Thus Cabral, with singular sagacity, chose at once the very course which is now usually taken by ships bound to India; and his boldness appears more worthy of admiration when contrasted with the timidity which confined Portuguese seamen, a few years before, to short struggling voyages along the shores of Africa.

The gleam of success which shone in the commencement of Cabral's voyage was soon overcast with the darkest adversity. In the passage from Brazil to the Cape of Good Hope the fleet encountered the most tempestuous weather. Furious hurricanes and a raging sea continued for twenty days with little intermission. Four ships foundered in the gale; and one of these was commanded by Bartholomew Diaz, the intrepid mariner who first discovered the Cape of Good Hope. It was not allotted to him to witness the value of the discovery to which he had so largely contributed, nor does he appear to have reaped distinctions from his sovereign commensurate with his merit. But Camoens has compensated him for

* Lindley. Narrative of a Voyage to Brazil, p. 232.

the neglect of courts. That great poet represents him as perishing by no vulgar fate; but as engulfed in the abysses of the ocean, to satisfy the vengeance of the genius of the Stormy Cape, upon whose repose he had dared to intrude.

Cabral stayed some time at Mozambique to refit the shattered remnant of his fleet, and then steered for India. As his armament, though reduced to only six ships, was still strong enough to inspire fear, he was treated with attention and respect by all the native princes. The zamorin of Calicut, now acquainted with the formidable power of the Portuguese, was willing to atone for his equivocal treatment of De Gama; and with this view gave Cabral a house, by a legal deed engrossed in letters of gold; permitted him to erect over it the arms or standard of Portugal, to appoint a factor or consul for his nation, and to open magazines for the purchase of goods. This friendship, however, had but a short continuance. Correa, the factor, and about fifty Portuguese, who dealt with the natives rather as conquerors than merchants, fell victims to an ebullition of popular anger provoked by their own arrogance. Cabral then sailed to Cochin, Coilan, and Cananore; received assurances of friendship from the comparatively feeble chieftains of these cities; and, having freighted his ships with rich cargoes, proceeded to return home, with ambassadors from these three princes. He doubled the Cape without difficulty, and arrived at Lisbon in July, 1501. Notwithstanding his discovery of Brazil, and the ability and spirit with which he had conducted himself in India, yet, owing to the loss of life which had attended his expedition, he was treated as one who had met with but dubious success.

Some months before the return of Cabral, the king of Portugal had sent Juan de Nova to meet him with a squadron of four ships. On his outward voyage De Nova fell in with Ascension Island in 8° south latitude. He missed Cabral's fleet, but arrived safely in India, where he contributed to raise the warlike repu-

tation of the Portuguese: he defeated a numerous fleet sent against him by the zamorin of Calicut; took in rich cargoes at Cananore and Cochin; and on his return home discovered the island of St. Helena, of which he gave so favourable a description that the Portuguese admirals received instructions to touch there for the future for refreshments.

If the three voyages already undertaken to India did not yield large profits, they had the effect, at least, of nourishing great hopes. No difficulty was now experienced in raising the funds requisite for the equipment of new expeditions; and the king, persuaded of the necessity of sending a strong armament, where so much opposition was likely to be encountered, gave orders for the preparation of twenty good-sized ships. Vasco de Gama was induced to leave his retirement and take the command of this fleet. In the spring of the year 1502, he sailed from Lisbon, and, arriving without any accident at Quiloa, compelled the king of that place to become tributary to the king of Portugal, and to agree to the annual payment of two thousand crowns of gold. From Quiloa he stood across the ocean to India, and in his way fell in with a group of islands, to which he gave the name of the *Admiral's Isles*. They form a part of the cluster at present best known as the Seychelles.

When the Portuguese admiral made his appearance in the Indian seas with an increased force, the friendly sovereigns of Cananore and Cochin hastened to receive him with warm congratulations. The Christians of India, or, as they are generally called, the Christians of St. Thomas, entreated of him to leave a squadron for their protection, when returning to Europe; a request to which he very willingly assented. The zamorin of Calicut in the mean time fitted out a fleet to attack the Portuguese; but De Gama won a complete and easy victory. Two ships were captured, containing immense riches; for, besides gold and silver plate to a great value, there was on board one of them an idol of pure gold weighing

sixty pounds; the eyes formed by emeralds of great size, and in the breast was a ruby as large as a chestnut. Vasco de Gama freighted his ships with the most valuable productions of India, and returned to Lisbon without the occurrence of any accident. He was received, on landing, with the utmost joy; and the tribute of the king of Quiloa, in a silver basin, was carried before him.

Vincent Sodrez, in the mean time, remained in the Indian seas, with six large ships. As his chief object was the acquisition of wealth, he totally neglected the interests of his allies on the coast of Malabar, and cruised off the Red Sea to capture prizes. He was the first Portuguese who visited the island of Socotra, or who coasted the shores of Arabia Felix. But his avarice controlled his prudence; and, neglecting the advice he received, not to visit the Arabian seas before the tempestuous season was over, he perished with all his treasures.

In the year 1503, Francisco de Albuquerque conducted a fleet of nine ships to India. His nephew, Alfonso de Albuquerque, who afterwards acquired so great a reputation in India, commanded one of the squadrons. From the first arrival of the Portuguese in the eastern seas, they had proved a source of jealousies and wars among the native princes; some of whom were determined to repulse those new and dangerous visiters, while others felt inclined to give them a favourable reception. The king of Cochin was among the latter number. The partiality which he had manifested towards the strangers provoked the hostility of the zamorin of Calicut, their implacable enemy; and, unable to resist so powerful an adversary, he had been compelled to fly, and abandon his dominions. But on the arrival of Albuquerque the balance of victory was quickly changed. The forces of the zamorin were immediately driven from Cochin, and the fugitive prince was reinstated in his kingdom. In return for this important service, he granted the Portuguese permission to build a fort in Cochin. The work was soon finished,

and the fort received the name of St. Iago. A church was erected at the same time, and dedicated to St. Bartholomew. In this manner the Portuguese nation, as its historians inform us, became possessed of dominion both spiritual and temporal in India. The Albuquerques, leaving behind them a squadron of three ships, and a hundred and fifty men in the fort at Cochin, set sail for Europe with a very rich cargo. Francisco and the ships under his command were never heard of more: but Alfonso arrived safe in Lisbon; and, among other things, brought the king forty pounds of large pearls, a diamond of extraordinary size, and two horses —the one Persian, the other an Arab—which were highly prized, being the first of those generous races seen in Portugal.

Conquest in India was now begun; and the king of Portugal deemed it expedient to confirm the first steps towards power, by assuming the style and exterior of regular authority. He accordingly selected Don Francisco Almeyda, a nobleman of courage and experience, for the chief command in the East, and gave him the title of viceroy and governor-general of the Indies; assigning him, at the same time, guards for his person, a number of chaplains, and whatever was thought necessary to give an air of grandeur to his office. Almeyda sailed from Lisbon in March, 1507, with a considerable fleet; and having stormed the city of Mombaza, on the eastern coast of Africa, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery, he arrived in India without any accident. The success of the viceroy justified the high opinion entertained of his abilities. Under his government, the Portuguese rapidly increased their possessions in India, extended their discoveries in every direction, and carried their arrogant sense of superiority so far as to seize all vessels which were not provided with a passport or letter of protection from the viceroy. Almeyda, having lost his son in a sea-fight with the Egyptians, who had joined the zamorin and other enemies of the Portuguese, was resolved on taking vengeance. He sailed, accord-

ingly, from Cananore, with a fleet of nineteen vessels, and attacking Dabul, reduced it to ashes. No provisions could be procured here, the country having been desolated by locusts, great quantities of which were found in pots, preserved by the natives for food. The Portuguese found them pleasing to the palate, and not unlike shrimps in flavour. Almeyda came next to Diu, a city at that time in the power of Malek Azz, a Russian renegade. Here he found the combined fleets of Egypt, Cambay, and Calicut. An engagement immediately ensued, in which the Portuguese obtained a complete victory, purchased with little loss on their side. The plunder of the enemies' ships was very rich; and a great number of volumes, in many languages, are said to have been found in them. The whole coast between Diu and Cochin being subdued, and the time of Almeyda's viceroyalty having expired, the government devolved on Alfonso de Albuquerque. Almeyda reluctantly resigned his power, and sailed for Europe in November, 1509. On passing the Cape of Good Hope, he was overjoyed to find events so far falsify the predictions of the witches of Cochin, who prophesied that he should not live to pass it. But shortly after, his ships putting into the bay of Saldanha, a little to the north of the Cape, he went ashore, and was killed, with fifty of his crew, in a quarrel with the savages. The unhappy fate of Almeyda was sincerely lamented by the king of Portugal.

Alfonso de Albuquerque, who succeeded Almeyda in the power but not in the title of viceroy, had already risen to the highest reputation in India. His attacks on Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, although unsuccessful, had shown how bold and comprehensive were his designs; and now that he was invested with the chief command, he displayed an unwearied activity along with boundless ambition. The first measure of his government was to attack Calicut, which he reduced to ashes: he then turned his arms against Goa, one of the most important commercial cities of India. The Moors, who held the place, made an obstinate resistance, but were at length

overpowered and put to the sword. Albuquerque erected a fort and coined silver and copper money at Goa, which he designed to be the chief of the Portuguese possessions in the East. It became, in 1559, the seat of the governor, and of an archbishop and primate of the Indies.

The next exploit of Albuquerque was of a still more brilliant character. In the year 1509, Almeyda had despatched Sequeira with a small squadron to make discoveries in the East. This officer directed his course to Malacca, where he was received with feigned demonstrations of warm friendship. Suspecting treachery, he declined the invitations he received to attend a grand festival prepared for him by the king; but of his companions, who went on shore to buy merchandise, some were killed and a great many made prisoners. Sequeira retaliated by plundering several richly laden vessels along the coast, and then returned to Portugal. Albuquerque now prepared to punish the affront offered to the Portuguese name, by the subjugation of Malacca. He set sail from Cochin in May, 1511, with an armament of nineteen ships and 1400 fighting men. On his arrival off the coast of Sumatra, he received friendly messages from some of the kings of that island. Among the Malays captured at sea was a chieftain who had acted a conspicuous part in the treachery practised on Sequeira's crew. As soon as he was recognised he was pierced with a number of mortal wounds, but, to the astonishment of all, shed not one drop of blood; when, however, the Indians (who discovered the amulet) took from his arm a certain bracelet of bone, he bled copiously. This bracelet was considered a most valuable prize, and brought to Albuquerque. The Moorish sovereigns of Malacca withstood the assaults of the Portuguese but a few days. They were killed, with their followers, or driven from the city, which was immediately peopled by Malayans and other natives of the East. The conquerors found here so rich a booty that the fifth reserved for the king was bought on the spot by merchants for 200,000 pieces of gold. And they took, say the veracious historians of

Portugal, 3000 pieces of cannon. Albuquerque built a fort and a church at Malacca, and then set sail for the coast of Malabar; but on his passage, near the coast of Sumatra, he encountered a violent storm, which destroyed the greatest part of his fleet, with all the riches on board. The vessel in which he himself sailed struck on a rock; and just as he was putting off from the wreck in the long boat, he saw a young man fall from one of the masts of the ship into the sea. The general sprang to his assistance, and saved him; and by this heroic act, perhaps, raised himself higher in the estimation of his followers than by his most important conquests.

Nothing was wanting now but the conquest of Ormuz to render the Portuguese perfect masters of the commerce of India. Albuquerque had formerly attempted to construct a fort there, but without success: his power being now increased, he proceeded to accomplish his design. The king of Ormuz, a weak and spiritless prince, offered no resistance: he admitted Albuquerque into the citadel, surrendered all his artillery, assigned the Portuguese some of the best houses in the town for their factory, and ordered their flag to be displayed on the palace. A short time after the return of Albuquerque to Goa, in December, 1515, he was seized with a violent illness, which carried him off in a few days, at the age of sixty-three. The epithet *great* has been affixed to his name by the gratitude of his countrymen; yet he does not seem to have possessed any merit but the vulgar one of being a conqueror; and it must be remembered that he fought with his inferiors. He was a lawless soldier, totally ignorant or regardless of the rights of nations, and not often attentive to those of humanity. The affairs of the Portuguese in India were raised by him to the highest state of prosperity, and obviously began to decline not long after his death,—a circumstance too lightly ascribed by historians to the inability of his successors: but a dominion reared wholly on violence has no natural stability; nor can rapine and spoliation always yield a rich harvest. Among the wild schemes which

he conceived, were those of desolating Egypt by diverting the course of the Nile in Abyssinia; and of plundering Mecca, by an expedition of 300 horsemen from the Persian Gulf.

The preceding rapid sketch of the rise and progress of the Portuguese empire in India will suffice for the object of this work, and show how the foundations of that political edifice were laid, from which European intelligence and activity afterwards issued forth to examine all the recesses of the East. As soon as the Portuguese obtained a settlement in India, and adopted the plan of always maintaining a fleet in those seas, their ardour to arrive at those rich countries which their hopes still descried on the bounds of their geographical knowledge acquired fresh vigour; and they prosecuted their researches with an alacrity and good fortune which may be best estimated from a brief notice of their several discoveries in the order in which they occurred.

In the year 1506, when Alfonso de Albuquerque was proceeding to India, a violent tempest dispersed his fleet. Tristan de Acunha, one of his captains, was driven so far to the south that his crew suffered severely from the cold: he fell in with those sequestered islands which still bear his name, and which are at present inhabited by a few English families. At the same time, Alvaro Telez ran so far to the east that he came to Sumatra, and thence returned to the coast of Arabia; thus making an imperfect discovery of the Indian Archipelago. The same gale forced Emanuel de Meneses to Madagascar, which he named the island of St. Lawrence.

In the same year Soarez discovered the Maldives, which immediately attracted the covetous regards of the Portuguese. But as these usurpers were never able to obtain a firm footing in that insular kingdom, they affected to despise it. The sovereign of the Maldives, nevertheless, is decorated with the pompous title of king of thirteen provinces and of 12,000 islands. Ceylon naturally followed in the order of discovery. Lorenzo Almeyda, the son of the viceroy, landed on that fine island in 1506,

and erected a column, with an inscription importing that he took possession of that country for the king of Portugal. He treated at the same time with the native sovereign, whose consent he extorted to the payment of a large annual tribute of cinnamon.

It has been already related how Sequeira, in 1509, made a voyage to Malacca. He found Sumatra governed then, as at present, by a number of petty princes, whose warlike propensities were so well exercised by their unceasing hostilities with one another, that the Portuguese were never able to make any impression on them. "This island," says Galvano*, "is the first land wherein we knew men's flesh to be eaten, by certain people who live in the mountains, called Bacas (Battas), who are accustomed to gild their teeth. They affirm that the flesh of black men is sweeter than that of white. The oxen, kine, and fowls of that country are as black in their flesh as any ink." Although the merit of being the first to penetrate so far eastward as Malacca is generally ascribed to Sequeira, it is hard to avoid suspecting that he had been preceded by some of his adventurous countrymen. It is barely possible that the Portuguese should have deferred so long their visit to a great emporium, to which they had destined an expedition five years before; for the fleet in which Amerigo Vespucci sailed on his last voyage, in 1504, and which was probably that commanded by Coelho, appears to have had Malacca for its object.†

The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, though so long the objects of research, were not discovered, or rather reached, by the Portuguese till the year 1511. Francisco Serrano and Diego d'Abreu were then sent by Albuquerque to make discoveries towards the east; and being separated by a storm, the former penetrated as far as Ternate, but the latter visited only the island of Amboyna. They spent about eight years in these discoveries, during

* Hist. des Descubrimientos.

† *Igitur ex Lasbonæ portu ... eximus, cum proposito, insulam unam versus horizontem (orientem?) positam invisendi, quæ* Meleha *dicitur, et diuturnarum multarum famosa, &c.* Navig. quart.

all which time they experienced the most kind and hospitable treatment from the natives. Serrano perished on his return home. In 1521, the Portuguese proceeded to take possession of the Spice Islands. A strong armament equipped for this purpose was despatched under the command of George de Britto; but he, making a descent on the coast of Sumatra, in order to plunder a certain temple which was reported to contain immense riches, lost his life in the attempt, and the command devolved on Antonio de Britto. When this officer arrived in the Moluccas, the natives contended with one another for the honour of entertaining their new visiter. Such was their simplicity and want of foresight, that each was solicitous to obtain for his own country the distinction of being elected by the Portuguese as the seat of a military establishment. Ternate at length obtained the dangerous preference: a fort was built there; and as the degeneracy of manners is naturally increased by distance from control, the Portuguese of the Moluccas far surpassed their superstitious and rapacious countrymen of western India in the heinousness of their crimes. De Britto was astonished to find in the Moluccas the companions of Magellan, who had reached them in the course of the first voyage round the world: these he seized and imprisoned; and the native islanders no sooner became acquainted with Europeans, than they were presented with the odious spectacle of their violent animosities.

Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque in the government of India, was the first who thought of establishing a trade with China. For this purpose he sent Andrada, in 1517, with a squadron of eight ships laden with merchandise, to Canton, together with Thome Perez as ambassador from the king of Portugal. The Chinese regarded these strangers with suspicion and mistrust. Only two of the ships were allowed to proceed up the river to Canton, on board of which were Andrada and the ambassador Perez. The former of these completely won the confidence of the Chinese by his conciliating

demeanour and upright conduct, and more particularly by his advertising beforehand the time fixed for his departure, that all who had demands on him or his crew might apply for satisfaction. Pereira in the mean time proceeded towards Pekin. Matters were in this favourable train, when the Portuguese, who had remained at the mouth of the river, unable to restrain for a short season their habitual rapacity, began to trade with the Chinese, and to display towards them the same insolent licentiousness in which they were accustomed to indulge among the other nations of the East. As soon as the governor of the province learned these proceedings, he assembled a great naval force, and surrounded the Portuguese ships, which he would probably have captured, had not a sudden storm dispersed his fleet and allowed them an opportunity of making their escape. Perez, however, who was on his road to court when this took place, became the victim of his countrymen's misconduct. He was sent back to Canton in chains, and thrown into a dungeon, where he lingered for several years, till death put a period to his sufferings.

In the year 1542, three Portuguese seamen, Antonio de Mota, Francisco Zeimoro, and Antonio Pexoto, deserted from the ship in which they were employed on the coast of Siam, and embarking in a Chinese junk, sailed towards the east. Storms drove them to Japan, and they were the first Europeans who visited that celebrated empire. But in the same year Japan was visited by a Portuguese adventurer of greater notoriety, and whose wanderings shall form the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. IX.

FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO.

FIRST ADVENTURES OF MENDEZ PINTO. — HE GOES TO INDIA. — VISITS ABYSSINIA. — CARRIED IN CHAINS TO MOCHA. — SOLD AS A SLAVE. — RANSOMED, AND GOES TO GOA. — SENT AS AMBASSADOR TO THE BATTAS. — WONDERS OF SUMATRA. — HE PROCEEDS TO AARU. — SHIPWRECKED AND CAPTURED. — HIS MISERY. — REDEEMED, AND GOES TO PATANA. — ATTACKED BY PIRATES. — HIS ESCAPE. — TURNS PIRATE. — CAPTURES A BRIDE. — WRECKED ON PIRATES' ISLAND. — SINGULAR DELIVERANCE. — DEATH OF COJA ACEM. — SAILS IN SEARCH OF CALEMPLUY. — ADVENTURES DURING THE VOYAGE. — WRECKED. — SENT A PRISONER TO NANKIN. — REMARKS ON THE CHINESE. — PROCEEDS TO PEKIN. — MEETS WITH CHRISTIANS. — CONDEMNED TO LABOUR AT QUANSY. — TATAR INVASION. — HOW TREATED BY THE TATARS. — REACHES COCHIN-CHINA. — JOINS A PIRATE. — CAST AWAY ON JAPAN. — CURES THE KING OF BUNGO'S SON. — DISMISSED. — WRECKED ON THE GREAT LEQUIO. — CONDEMNED TO DEATH. — SAVED BY THE COMPASSION OF THE WOMEN. — MISSION TO PEGU AND AVA. — THE IDOL TINAGOOGOO. — PINTO TURNS JESUIT. — REMARKS ON HIS HISTORY.

When the Portuguese had once established their dominion in the East, they no longer spread themselves abroad to gratify curiosity, or for the liberal purpose of enlarging their knowledge of the globe. The wealth of the Indies and the weakness of the natives called forth their worst passions. Avarice, inflamed by religious bigotry, became their chief spring of action, and they are thenceforward to be viewed not so much in the light of skilful and intrepid navigators, as in that of rapacious adventurers, military merchants, pirates, and missionaries. The personal narrative of one of the most extraordinary adventurers of that remarkable age remains to us, and in it we find marked out not only the farthest extent of the geographical knowledge of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, but also an exact and vivid picture of their manners.

Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, the author and hero of this narrative, was one of the first Europeans who visited Japan; and if the geographical notices which occur in his volume are too often obscure and unintelligible, he contributes, on the other hand, to throw a light on the history of geography, by revealing to us the habits and character of those of his countrymen who first reached the remotest countries of the East.

Mendez Pinto was born of humble parents, in the town of Monte mor Ovelho, in Portugal. When about eleven or twelve years of age, his uncle, desirous to advance him in life, brought him to Lisbon, where he placed him in the service of a lady of high rank. But in this situation he was guilty of some crime, or, as he expresses it, "an accident befell him, that cast him into manifest peril of his life." Being constrained to fly, he embarked at Pedra in a small bark which he found ready to go to sea. But the vessel was hardly out of sight of land when she was captured by a French pirate, which, abandoning this prize shortly after for one of greater value, landed the wretched captives and Mendez Pinto amongst the rest, "covered with nothing but the stripes they had received the day before." After this he entered into the service of Francisco de Faria, who recommended him to the commander of St. Jago. But finding the pittance allowed in great men's houses insufficient for his support, he left his master, for the purpose of making a voyage to the Indies, which he believed to be the best way to rid himself of his poverty.

In March, 1537, he commenced his voyage. Arrived at Diu, he joined an expedition about to sail to the Red Sea. The mission was well received at the Abyssinian court, where our author visited the mother of Prester John, and gratified her curiosity by telling her the name of the "holy father the pope, and also how many kings there were in Christendom." The object of this mission was to form some alliances that might countervail the formidable power of the Turks in the Red Sea. The Portuguese, on their return, espied three Turkish vessels,

to which they immediately gave chace. But when they came up with them, the Turks proved strongest, and only eleven out of fifty-four Portuguese survived the battle. The captives were carried to Mocha, and paraded through the town chained all together. The people, incited by their priests, vied with each other in insulting the Christians. They were then cast into a dungeon, where they remained seventeen days without any food but a little oatmeal or dry peas soaked in water.

The captives were conducted several times to the market-place, and exposed to sale; but owing to the civil commotions which raged in the town no purchaser came forward, and they were glad to fly back for shelter to their dungeon. At last, when the disturbance was over, the seven Portuguese who still remained alive were sold into slavery: and as for Mendez Pinto, fortune, his sworn enemy, as he tells us, made him fall into the hands of a Greek renegado, who used him so cruelly that he was several times upon the point of poisoning himself. But this tyrant, afraid of losing his slave, disposed of him to a Jew, who carried him to Ormuz, where he was ransomed by the Portuguese governor.

He now embarked in the armament of Pedro Vaz Coutinho, to return to India. Being defeated in an attack on a Turkish galley, they seemed disposed to avenge their ill success on their ally the queen of Onore; but she assured them, by her ambassador, "that she was as much afflicted at the notice of their disaster, as she could have been if she had been made to eat cows' flesh at the principal gate of the temple where her father lay interred." The Portuguese squadron hastened after its defeat to Goa, where Mendez Pinto engaged in the service of Pedro de Faria, who was proceeding as governor to Malacca. As soon as Faria arrived at the seat of his government, he was surrounded by the envoys of the neighbouring chieftains, soliciting his favour and protection. Among these was the ambassador from the king of the Battas, a warlike nation of Sumatra, bearing gifts of precious woods, and a letter written on the bark

of the palm-tree; and at the same time praying for the assistance of the Portuguese against the people of Achem. Faria granted his request, and dismissed the ambassador with presents of "fire-pots, darts, and murdering pieces, wherewith he departed from the fortress so contented that he shed tears for joy."

When the ambassador of the Battas was about to return to Sumatra, it was thought advisable to send a Portuguese agent with him, and Mendez Pinto was the person selected for the purpose. He was instructed to observe carefully the condition of the natives, and especially to learn whatever was to be known respecting the *Isle of Gold*. While ascending the river in Sumatra, Pinto saw a number of strange animals, which, from the delicate regard that he had to his reputation for veracity, he is fearful to describe. The strange creature which he calls the *caquesseitan* is probably the cassowary, which he fantastically describes as hopping and flying together like the grasshopper. He saw serpents with heads as large as calves; and was told that they hunted their prey in this manner:—"They get up into a tree, and winding their tails about some branch of it, let their bodies hang down to the root, and then laying one of their ears close to the ground, they hearken whether they can perceive any thing stir during the stillness of the night; so that if an ox, a boar, or any other beast, doth chance to pass by, they presently seize on it, and so carry it up into the tree, where they devour it." In this story it is easy to recognise an embellished description of the boa constrictor. The great baboons, which our author informs us frequently attack and defeat the negroes of the country, are obviously the formidable pongos.

When Pinto arrived at the court of the king of the Battas, he was received with every manifestation of welcome. "Man of Malacca," said the old woman who conducted him to the royal presence, "thy arrival in the king my master's land is as agreeable unto him as a shower of rain is to a crop of rice in dry and hot weather; wherefore enter boldly, and be afraid of no-

thing." Pinto made liberal promises to the king, of Portuguese assistance, and vowed not to leave him till such time as he returned the conqueror of all his enemies. The sincerity of his professions may be estimated from his remarking, "This poor king presently believed all that I said to be true, chiefly because it was conformable to his desire; so that, rising out of his throne whereon he sat, I saw him go and fall on his knees before the skeleton of a cow's head set up against the wall, whose horns were gilt, and crowned with flowers." Notwithstanding the encouragement derived from the proffered aid of the Portuguese, the king of the Battas was unable to make head against his enemies, the people of Achem, who exultingly styled themselves "drinkers of the troubled blood of miserable Caffres, who are tyrannical men and usurpers, in a supreme degree, of other men's kingdoms in the Indies and the islands of the sea." Such were the strong terms in which they expressed their well-founded detestation of the Portuguese. Pinto, escaping from this troubled scene, proceeded on an embassy to the king of Aaru. But before he left the king of the Battas, he learned from him that the Isle of Gold is situated beyond the river of Callendor, 160 leagues from Sumatra, in 5° south, environed by many shelves of sand and dangerous currents.

On his return from the king of Aaru, Pinto suffered shipwreck, and was obliged to crawl with his companions through the deep mud that lined the shore, tormented by myriads of insects, and in constant fear of being attacked by the serpents and wild beasts that haunted the neighbouring woods. One of his companions died in his arms. With the remaining three he reached a small river, which it was necessary to cross; but the two foremost of the party had scarcely reached the middle of the stream, when they were seized by alligators and dragged to the bottom. Pinto and his surviving comrade continued standing in the sea, as the safest place they could choose. A small vessel at length

approached the shore, in which they embarked to return to Malacca. The boat's crew, however, soon commenced beating the two Portuguese, to force them to confess where their treasures lay concealed. Seeing that the flogging proved ineffectual, they supposed that their captives had swallowed their gold, and in consequence administered to the companion of Mendez Pinto so violent an emetic, that he died soon after; and Pinto himself escaped similar treatment only from the ill success of this experiment. He was dragged ashore nearly dead from famine and ill usage; but as his weakness made him an unprofitable slave, no food was given to him, and "he was turned," he says, "a grazing like a horse." A Mahometan merchant, hearing that he had friends at Malacca, at length put an end to his sufferings, and redeemed him for a sum equivalent to about seventeen shillings and sixpence of our money.

Having recovered at Malacca from the effects of his late ill usage, he returned to proceed to Pan and Patana on a mercantile voyage, in the hopes of mending his fortune. He had hardly arrived at the former place, when a popular commotion broke out, and the mob, freed from authority, attacked the stores of the Portuguese, and carried off all their goods. Our adventurers, therefore, were glad to escape to Patana, where a subscription was made by their countrymen to relieve their present distress, and they obtained permission from the king to indemnify themselves on shipping belonging to the guilty city. In consequence, they soon after attacked and captured three Chinese junks belonging to merchants of Pan, as they declared, though it is probable they were not very scrupulous in their choice. Antonio de Faria, unable to dispose of his large stock of merchandise at Patana, was persuaded to try the populous city of Lugor. His wealth was all embarked, and Mendez Pinto proceeded with the cargoes. But when near the place of their destination they were attacked furiously by pirates, and quickly overpowered. Pinto and three others, of whom one was soon drowned, jumped over-

board to save themselves by swimming. The remainder of the crew were butchered by the pirates, who sunk the Portuguese vessel, having first taken out her cargo. Pinto and his two comrades gained the shore near the mouth of the river of Lugor. Here they made their way with difficulty, through mud and deep marshes, in vain imploring those who passed up and down the river to approach the shore and lend them some assistance. At length they were relieved by a vessel ascending the river; and found, when taken on board, that they were indebted for their preservation to the compassion of a lady who had learned from misfortunes to hearken to the calls of humanity. Her father, sons, and two brothers, had been torn in pieces by the king of Siam's elephants. This charitable lady furnished our adventurers with the means of returning to Patana.

When Antonio de Faria learned the fate of his vessels and the ruin of his hopes, he became furious with despair. It was impossible for him to return to Malacca, and to face his creditors in his present poverty. He preferred rather to take the short but dangerous road to wealth, and to turn pirate; and covering his avarice with a show of honest feeling, he vowed to avenge the death of the fourteen Portuguese who had been murdered by the pirate. The old lady who had so kindly relieved Mendez Pinto likewise informed him that the pirate in question was Coja Acem, a native of Guzerat, an implacable enemy of the Portuguese, in battle with whom his father and two brothers had lost their lives. Faria found no difficulty in collecting fifty-five desperadoes to join him in his enterprise; and Pinto, who was unable to return to Malacca, where he owed five hundred ducats, and who "had been able to save nothing but his miserable carcass, wounded in three places by a javelin, and his skull cracked with a stone," was among the number.

Many were the adventures which our heroes met with at the commencement of their cruise, and in all they came off with success. They pillaged towns, captured

native pirates, and seemed to have thought that in right of their nation they were not bound by any restraints of morality or justice. On one occasion they observed several small vessels approaching, with music playing, banners flying, and other demonstrations of rejoicing. On board of one of these was the daughter of the governor of Colem, betrothed to a neighbouring chieftain, who was to have met her in this place. The bride, mistaking the ships of the Portuguese for those of her destined spouse, sent a letter, couched in the hyperbolical language of the East, to reproach him for his coldness. She assured him, "that if the feeble sex of a woman would permit her, she would fly to kiss his tardy feet as the hungry falcon flies after the fearful heron." The Portuguese in the mean time lay concealed, their Chinese seamen alone remaining on deck. The bride's vessel, and those which attended her, were captured without resistance. The lady and her brothers, "being young, white, and well favoured," with about twenty of the seamen, were retained; the rest, who were good for nothing, were sent ashore. The bridegroom soon after made his appearance with five vessels, and saluted the Portuguese as he passed, "with great store of music and show of gladness," ignorant that they were carrying off his bride.

After Faria and his associates had cruised up and down seven months and a half without hearing of Coja Acem, they agreed to winter in Siam, and divide the spoil. This agreement being sworn to and signed by all, they went and anchored under the island *De los Ladrones*, or Pirates' Island. Here a violent hurricane overtook them; and about two hours after midnight the four vessels ran foul of one another, dashed on shore, and went to pieces. Four hundred and eighty persons were drowned: of fifty-three who were saved, only twenty-three were Portuguese.

Faria, a second time reduced to utter poverty, found strength in despair. He even endeavoured to draw consolation from religion, while he abandoned every prin-

ciple of morality, and assured his followers, that as God never did ill but for a greater good, there was no doubt that for the 500,000 ducats they had lost, he would permit them to rob 600,000 more. One day, when our adventurers were scattered in the woods, gathering fruits for their subsistence, a small vessel was seen to approach the shore: the Chinese, to whom she belonged, about thirty in number, jumped on land, and commenced lighting fires, drying their clothes, and amusing themselves as men weary of a long voyage and suspecting no harm. Faria in the mean time drawing his companions together, assured them that the boat was sent by a special providence to their relief; and as superstition is naturally selfish, they readily gave credit to a miracle wrought in their own favour. Their measures were soon concerted; and a signal being given, they rushed suddenly to the shore, made themselves masters of the boat, and stood out to sea. The Chinese, who were taken by surprise, stood stupified with horror and amazement when they found themselves left thus helpless and forlorn.

Proceeding in this small vessel to the port of Xingran, our heroes boarded a large junk in the dead of night, and, getting out to sea in their new prize, shortly after joined company with a Chinese pirate, who promised to serve them faithfully on condition of receiving one third of the spoil. This reinforcement arrived at a lucky season. Faria received intelligence of his deadly enemy Coja Acem, whom he proceeded immediately to encounter. The battle was desperately contended; but the victory remained with the Portuguese. The body of Coja Acem was cut in pieces, and thrown overboard; five of his followers, who remained alive, were cast into the hold, in order to be tortured till they might disclose the valuable secrets of his hidden treasures. The victors sailed to Liampoo (Ning-Po), where they were received with the greatest honours by the Portuguese merchants. Faria was met on his arrival by a splendid procession, and conducted to the town, where preparations had been

made for his reception. When the Chinese enquired who was the person treated with so much distinction, it was answered, " that his father shod the horses whereon the king of Portugal rode; and the Chinese, believing all this to be true, cried out, in admiration, ' Truly there are great kings in the world whereof our ancient historians, through ignorance, hath made no mention.' " The public rejoicings at the arrival of Faria concluded with a mass and sermon, which our pious author ventures to criticise in a vein of jocularity. " Mass being ended, the sermon followed, that was made by Estevano Noguera, an ancient man, and curate of the place, who, to speak the truth, through discontinuance of preaching, was but little versed in pulpit matters. Howbeit, desiring to show himself that day a learned man in so remarkable a solemnity, he laboured to make demonstration of his best rhetoric; to which effect he grounded all his sermon on the praises of Antonio de Faria, and that in words so ill placed, and so far from his text, that our captain was much ashamed of it; wherefore some of his friends plucked him three or four times by the surplice to make him give over, but he being nettled, cried, ' I will not stop, but will rather say more, for I speak nothing but what is as true as gospel. In regard whereof let me alone, I pray you; for I have made a vow to God never to desist from praising this noble captain, as he deserves it at my hands, for saving me 7000 ducats' venture that Merim Taborda had of mine in his junk, and was taken from him by that dog Coja Acem; for which let the soul of so cursed a rogue and wicked devil be tormented in hell for ever and ever: whereunto say all with me, Amen.' "

At Liampoo, Faria became acquainted with a Chinese pirate named Similau, who gave him an extravagant account of an island called *Calempluy*, in which were the tombs of seventeen kings of China, all of gold, besides immense treasures of different descriptions. The Portuguese adventurer, " being naturally curious," as our author observes, resolved to seek and carry off these

riches. It is obvious that Similau, when he spoke of golden tombs, related a popular story; and it shows in what estimation the courage and the prowess of the Portuguese were held, when a prize too romantically rich to be sought by a Chinese alone was thought a fit object for their ambition. It is not easy to understand the course which our author says was followed in this enterprise. They arrived at a port called Buxipalem in 49° north, where the climate was cold and the sea crowded with monsters which our author is fearful to describe. They were now two months and a half at sea, generally following a north-easterly course, and had not yet arrived at Calempluy. The Portuguese reproached Similau with steering only by guess, and Faria at one time grew so violent that he threatened to stab him. Similau, in consequence, made his escape, and his example was followed by thirty-six of the Chinese seamen. Faria, thus left without a guide, persisted in seeking the royal sepulchres, and at length arrived at Calempluy, in the description of which our author may be suspected of drawing largely on his imagination.

"The island," he says, "about a league in circuit, is all enclosed with a platform of jasper six and twenty spans high; the stones being so neatly joined that the whole wall seemed one piece. Pillars of copper, at intervals of about forty feet, were ranged on the wall, and on each of these was the figure of a woman holding a bowl in her hand. Within this gallery were rows of arches, gilt towers, and monstrous figures, cast in metal, with three hundred and threescore hermitages, dedicated to the gods of the year. Faria immediately landed, and breaking into one of the hermitages, began to collect the silver which was mixed with the bones of the dead, and which was derived, as he was informed by the astonished hermit, from the alms carried with them by the deceased to support them in the world of the moon, where they live eternally."

Faria, while ransacking this place, confessed himself conscious that it was a very great sin, and declared that

it was his intention, at some future period, to atone by penance for so enormous a crime. To this the Chinese sage replied, "that he who knows these things, and doth them not, runs far greater danger than he who sins through ignorance." The Portuguese robbers then withdrew to their ships, intending to return to the work of pillage with the daylight. But their sins, as our author observes, would not allow them to see the happy issue of the business.

They were hardly on board when they saw fires lighted on the island, and heard bells ringing, from which they concluded that the alarm was given. Faria hastened again on shore in the dead of night, and ran up and down with a frantic desire to carry off some valuable prize; but it was now too late, and the danger was so imminent that his companions forced him to fly. They spread all sail, and stood out to sea, so sad from their disappointment that they hardly spoke to one another during the voyage. When they had been about a month at sea, a furious gale came on in the gulf of Nankin, which reduced them to such distress, that they were obliged to lighten the ships by every means in their power, to cut down their masts, and throw overboard their chests full of silver. About midnight, the people in Antonio de Faria's ship were heard to cry out "Lord have mercy upon us!" and when day broke it was found that she had disappeared. The other ship was in a sinking state, and the crew, as their only chance, ran her upon the coast, where she instantly went to pieces. Fourteen Portuguese were saved; the number of the drowned, including Chinese mariners, was six and thirty. "This miserable disaster," says our author, "happened on a Monday, the 5th of August, in the year 1540, for which the Lord be praised everlastingly."

The shipwrecked pirates met with but an indifferent reception from the Chinese, who seem to have a particular dislike to the appearance of a lawless vagabond. Pinto and his companions were thrust into a pond, where they were almost devoured by leeches.

Whenever they arrived at a town, they were sure to be expelled from it with a sound beating. They represented themselves as "poor natives of Siam," and the falsehood of their story was probably recognised at once. At length they were sent to Nankin with other criminals, where they were condemned to lose their thumbs and to be whipped. The latter part of the sentence was immediately put in execution with such severity that two of the party died of it. Here they met a Russian, "who," says Pinto, "understood Chinese as well as we." From Nankin, of which our author gives a copious description, the Portuguese were sent to Pekin, travelling the greater part of the way by canals. On the route they met with Christians, the descendants of those who had been converted more than a century before by Matthew Escaudel, a Hungarian missionary. They also met with a daughter of Thome Perez, the unfortunate ambassador who had been detained in China some years before. Pinto's observations with respect to the Chinese are lively and accurate. He remarks the multitude of those who dwell upon the rivers. Their mode of rearing water-fowl; the good order observed by the common people; the strictness with which industrious habits are enforced; the regulations of their markets; their mode of hatching eggs by artificial heat; their eating with chop-sticks; with many other particulars, are reported with the exactness of an eye-witness. In fine, he observes, "I dare boldly say, if my testimony be worthy of credit, that in one and twenty years' space, during which time, with a world of misfortunes, labour, and pain, I traversed the greatest part of Asia, as may appear by this my discourse, I had seen in some countries a wonderful abundance of several sorts of victuals and provisions which we have not in Europe; yet, without speaking what each of them may have in particular, I do not think that in all Europe there is so much as there is in China alone. And the same may be said of all the rest wherewith heaven hath favoured this climate; as well for the temperature of the air as that which con-

cerns the policy, riches, and greatness of their estate: but that which gives the greatest lustre unto it is the exact observation of justice; for this country is so well ruled, that it may justly be envied by all others in the world." This tribute of praise to Chinese justice is singularly candid in one who had so often felt its severe application. The criminals reached Pekin, chained three and three together, "where for their welcome they had at their first dash thirty lashes apiece given them." The nine surviving Portuguese, all chained together, were at length conducted to the hall of audience, to which they had appealed, to hear their final sentence, and were overjoyed to find that they were condemned to only a year's hard work at the reparations of Quansy. Pinto gives us a minute account of Pekin, where he resided two months and a half, and a description of which, in Chinese, he tells us he brought home with him to Portugal. He also impudently affirms that he read it. The Portuguese had served about eight months of their captivity, when news arrived that the king of Tatary, with a host of 1,800,000 men, had attacked Pekin, and that a part of the invading army was advancing against Quansy. This place was soon reduced, and the Portuguese slaves were led off by the conquerors. An accident soon brought them into notice. The castle of Nixiamcoo resisted all the efforts of the Tatars; when Jorge Mendez, the most resolute of the captives, boasted that he could take it. The Tatar general embraced his offer; and Mendez, with two other Portuguese, led a great army of Tatars to the assault. Their courage triumphed, and the Portuguese were thenceforward held in the highest honour in the camp. The Tatar general declared "that they were almost as resolute as those of Japan."

When our adventurers were led before the king of Tatary, he began by demanding whence they came; to which they replied that their country was called Portugal, that the king thereof was exceedingly rich and mighty, and that from thence to Pekin was at least three years'

voyage. At this answer the king, not knowing that the world is so large, testified much surprise, and repeatedly asked, *Pricau? pricau?* that is, How far? how far? Being assured that it was a distance of three years' voyage, he observed, "that there either must be much ambition, or little justice, in the country of these people, since they go so far to conquer other lands." Being frustrated in his attempt on China, he thought fit to retreat, the Portuguese still following in his train. At a town called Quanginau, the king was visited by the talapicor of Lechuna, who, Pinto informs us, is their pope. This personage granted to the inhabitants of Quanginau, in recompense for the liberal reception they gave him, that they might be all priests; and empowered them to give bills of exchange on heaven to all who were willing to pay them for that accommodation. What our author tells us of the talapicor seems to suit very well with the grand lama of Thibet. The city of Lechuna is, he informs us, "the chiefest of the religion of the Gentiles; and such it may be as Rome is amongst us." The Portuguese, having obtained permission to depart, travelled with the ambassadors of Cochin China to the sea-side, where they hoped to find a ship ready to sail to Malacca. In this hope, however, they were disappointed, and were obliged to engage a small vessel to carry them to Liampoo. But they quarrelled among themselves on the voyage, and behaved so outrageously that the captain of the vessel abandoned them on a desolate island, from which they were afterwards picked up by a pirate; and here their lawless career commenced again.

Their first adventure was an engagement with a pirate, in which five of the eight surviving Portuguese lost their lives. The junk in which the other three were embarked escaped from the fight with little injury; but a violent storm coming on, they were in momentary expectation of going to the bottom. The pirate who commanded the vessel ran for the Lequios or Loochoo Islands; but the wind drove him from his course. At length he saw land with fires on it; and running towards

the shore, found anchorage in good shelter. Some of the natives soon came aboard, and they found that they had arrived at Tanixumaa, one of the islands of Japan. The nautaquim, or governor of the island, began with interrogating the Portuguese respecting the wonders of their country. "The first thing he propounded was, how he had learned from the Chinese and Lequios that Portugal was far richer and of a larger extent than the whole empire of China; which we confirmed unto him. The second, how he had likewise been assured that our king had upon the sea conquered the greatest part of the world; which also we averred to be so. The third, that our king was so rich in gold and silver, as it was held for most certain that he had above two thousand houses full of it even to the very tops; but thereunto we answered that we could not truly say the number of the houses, because the kingdom of Portugal was so spacious, so abounding with treasure, and so populous, as it was impossible to specify the same."

One of the Portuguese, named Diego Zeimoto, gave to the governor an arquebuss, which the Japanese imitated with such skill, that in 1556, when our author visited these islands a second time, they were said to have thirty thousand stand of fire-arms. The king of Bungo, wishing to see the strangers, Mendez Pinto was sent to him; and here an accident occurred which had nearly proved fatal to our hero. He amused himself occasionally with shooting birds; and the natives, who were ignorant of the composition of gunpowder, used to ascribe the effect of the gun to sorcery. One day the son of the king of Bungo took up the gun; and charging it to the muzzle, fired at a tree; but the gun burst, and tore the prince's hand in a dreadful manner. The people, supposing that the prince had been killed by the magical arts of Pinto, called out for vengeance. Our poor adventurer had no expedient to save his life, but to play the doctor. He looked as confident as possible; and "because the hurt of the right thumb," he says, "was most dangerous, I began with that, and gave it seven stitches;

whereas, peradventure, if a surgeon had dressed him, he would have given it fewer." Covering the wound with tow dipped in the whites of eggs, he bound it up close, and in twenty days the prince was quite cured. Pinto's medical reputation procured him presents to the value of 1500 ducats. The Chinese pirate, with whom they had arrived, being now ready for sea, the Portuguese set sail for Liampoo, where they arrived in safety.

When Pinto and his companions told their countrymen residing there of the wealth of "the new land of Japan which they had just discovered," and of the great market that might be found there for foreign merchandise, the money-making enthusiasm inflamed by this news was so great, that in fifteen days no fewer than nine junks were ready to sail to Japan, most of them ill provided for the voyage, and without pilots acquainted with the navigation. Seven of these vessels were lost in the passage, and with them perished 600 persons; and merchandise was sunk to the value of 300,000 crowns. The junk which carried our author was thrown on the rocks near the great Lequio: the greater part of the crew were drowned, only twenty-four escaping, among whom were some women. The islanders seem to have been well acquainted with the iniquities of the Portuguese. When these were brought before the governor, he demanded of them—"I would fain know why your countrymen, when they took Malacca, impelled thereto by extreme avarice, killed our people so unmercifully?" Nevertheless they were about to be dismissed, when a Chinese merchant accused them of piracy, and affirmed "that it was the custom of the Portuguese to play the spies in a country under pretence of trading, and then to make themselves masters of it, like robbers, putting all to the sword they met withal." This charge wrought so powerfully on the king's mind, that he ordered the Portuguese to be quartered, and their limbs to be hung up on the public roads.

When this sentence was made known, the Portuguese women testified their affliction in so violent a manner as

sensibly to affect the compassionate islanders. The Lequio ladies gathered round the sufferers, and, participating in their sorrow, resolved to intercede in their favour. They accordingly wrote a letter to the king's mother, whom they styled "a sacred pearl congealed in the greatest shell of the profoundest depth of the waters;" and conjured her to take pity on the strangers and procure their pardon. Female compassion was not without effect; the Portuguese were discharged from prison, and provided with a ship in which they sailed for China. "In this manner," says Pinto, "we departed from Pungor, the capital city of the island of Lequio, of which I will here make a brief relation, to the end that if it shall one day please God to inspire the Portugal nation, principally for the exaltation and increase of the catholic faith, and next for the great benefit that may redound thereof, to undertake the conquest of this island, they may know where first to begin, as also the commodities of it, and the easiness of its conquest." The inhabitants (he adds) are little inclined to arms, and altogether unfurnished with them.

Pinto arrived safely at Liampoo; whence he returned to Malacca, little improved in fortune by his adventures. Here the governor, Pedro de Faria, willing to render him a service, despatched him on a mission to Martaban, the object of which was to conclude a treaty of peace, with the king of that country. He had no sooner arrived there than he witnessed one of those terrific revolutions that characterise and so often desolate the East. The king of Martaban was besieged by the king of Brama, defeated, and taken prisoner: he was flung into the river along with about fifty of his nobles; his wives, 140 in number, were hanged with their heads downwards. Many other cruelties are here ascribed to the king of Brama, which could hardly have entered into a European imagination; but of which, unhappily, instances still frequently occur in eastern countries. Mendez Pinto, with some other Portuguese captives, was carried to Ava; whence he accompanied the ambassador of the king of Brama to

Timplan, the capital city of the calaminham, or *lord of the white elephant.*

This journey he performed in the humble capacity of a slave. The country which he traversed in his route to Timplan is but little known; and the names which he gives to places are obviously so disfigured that little instruction can be derived from his account. His description of the "feast or fair of the Gentiles," at the pagoda of *Tinagoogoo*, coincides exactly with the fair of Juggernaut. Fanatics threw themselves under the wheels of the chariots, or, cutting themselves with knives, flung pieces of their flesh among the crowd. The statue of Tinagoogoo, he observes, had the hair of a negro, the ordinary characteristic of Buddha. The frightful instances of frantic devotion exhibited by its votaries, made our author remark, "How little we do to save our souls, compared with what they do to lose them!"

On his return to Malacca, Pinto was furnished with the means of trading to Sunda, in order that he might repair his fortune: but repose or prosperity did not belong to his eventful life. To his levity and love of change, perhaps, it may be attributed, that he was involved in every revolution that took place, and that his life was an unbroken series of hazardous adventures. At Malacca he joined the society of the Jesuits, and wrote home an account of Siam and Pegu, calculated to encourage the missionaries to engage in the work of converting the inhabitants of those countries. The Siamese, it appears, are in the habit of crying, whenever they sneeze, *Sam ropi!* or *Three and one!* which mysterious expression seemed to the devout novice to intimate a disposition to become Christians.* He afterwards visited China; and accompanied the missionary Belquior to Japan, in 1556; and appears to have acquitted himself well on this mission, for on his return to Portugal, in 1558, he brought with him from the governor of Malacca a testimonial of his services. But the court set less value on his adventures

* Diversi Avisi dall' India di Portogallo dall' anno 1551 sino al 1558, dalli Rev. Padri della Compagnia di Giesu. 12mo. Venet.

than he did himself; and he complains bitterly, that after enduring endless hardships for one and twenty years in the service of his country, as he is pleased to say, he met with no reward. Credit was long denied to the narrative of Mendez Pinto, or *Mendax* Pinto, as a learned writer of ours jocosely calls him *; and our great dramatic poet has given currency to this opinion.† But as we have acquired a greater knowledge of the countries which he visited, his credit has become re-established, and his travels can no longer be looked upon as mere fictions. He unquestionably embellishes his adventures; but this liberty, as well as the contradictions of which he is frequently guilty, are pardonable in an unlettered man who writes from memory, and whose taste is swayed by the secret attachment which ignorance always feels to whatever is wonderful. Yet his volume is not characterised by exaggeration so much as by the multitude of events and particulars graphically set forth, and related with all the air of reality. When he tells his conversations with the Chinese and other eastern people, he must certainly be assisted by his imagination: yet it ought to be considered that he lived for years among adventurers of all nations; that he was rarely without interpreters; and that in all his descriptions he preserves the language and manners of the East with a fidelity which proves that he studied from the life. He is no where boastful of his own exploits; on the contrary, he always seems to have been the least considered of his party; and, indeed, no credit could redound to himself or his countrymen from the adventures that he relates. The simplicity and vividness of his style, with the variety of his fortunes, procured great success for his history, which was long regarded by the Portuguese as a classical production.

* Astley's Collection, vol. i. p. 85.
† Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee,
Thou liar of the first magnitude!
SHAKSPEARE.

CHAP. X.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH.

VOYAGES OF SEBASTIAN CABOT. — FIRST DISCOVERY OF NEWFOUNDLAND. — THE CORTEREALS. — VOYAGES OF THE FRENCH. — CANADA. — FIRST EXPEDITIONS OF THE ENGLISH. — ATTEMPTS TO FIND A NORTH-EAST PASSAGE. — FATE OF SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY. — RICHARD CHANCELOR GOES TO MOSCOW. — HIS RECEPTION. — STEVEN BOROUGH REACHES THE STRAIT OF WAIGATZ. — FROBISHER SAILS TO DISCOVER THE NORTH-WESTERN PASSAGE. — FRIESLAND. — BRINGS HOME SOME ESQUIMAUX. — SUPPOSED GOLD ORE. — HIS SECOND VOYAGE. — HIS SHIPS LADEN WITH THE ORE. — HE SAILS A THIRD TIME TO PLANT A COLONY. — FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT. — VOYAGE OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT. — SHIPS PROVIDED WITH AMUSEMENTS. — HE FIXES A COLONY IN NEWFOUNDLAND. — PROCEEDS ON DISCOVERY, AND PERISHES.

THE conquests of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the New World and the East present such a brilliant train of exploits and discoveries as must always hold a prominent place in an historical review of geographical knowledge. But other nations in the mean time were not inattentive to these movements, or indifferent to the advantages that might result from an improved acquaintance with the globe. They did not proceed, it is true, in their researches with the same bold strides; but their slow and patient efforts were of a nature better calculated to conduct to ultimate success. England in particular soon distinguished itself as the school of intrepid and skilful mariners.

John Gavotta or Cabot, a native of Venice, arrived in England, and settled at Bristol, in the reign of Henry VII. That monarch, disappointed in his hopes of forming an engagement with Columbus, gladly extended his protection to the Venetian, whose reputation as a skilful pilot was little inferior to that of the celebrated Genoese. By a patent dated the 5th of March,

1496, he granted to Cabot and his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sancius, permission to go in search of unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them. In the accounts which remain to us respecting the voyages undertaken in virtue of this patent, irreconcilable diversities and contradictions occur. Of Sebastian Cabot alone we know any thing with certainty. In the report made to the pope's legate in Spain *, he is made to say, that "understanding, by reason of the sphere, that if he should sail by way of north-west, he should by a shorter tract come into India, he thereupon caused the king to be advertised of his device, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was, as farre as he remembered, in the year 1496, in the beginning of summer. He began, therefore, to sail toward the north-west, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India; but after certaine days he found that the land ran toward the north, which was to him a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sayling along the coast to see if he could find any gulf that turned, he found the land still continued to the 56th degree under our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned to the east, despairing to find a passage, he turned back again, and sayled downe by the coast of that land toward the equinoctiall (ever with intent to find the said passage to India), and came to that part of this firm land which is now called Florida; where his victuals failing, he departed from thence and returned unto England, where he found great tumults among the people, and preparations for warres in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had unto this voyage."

It is probable that John Cabot and his son jointly, in their first voyage, discovered Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of *Prima Vista*. It appears that they brought home with them three of the natives; and "these savages, it is said, were cloathed in beastes skins,

* In Ramusio and Hakluyt.

and did eat raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could understand them; and in their demeanour were like to brute beastes, whom the kinge kept a time after."* Ramusio relates that Cabot sailed as far north as 67½°; and another contemporary writer mentions that he met with Indians who had abundance of copper.† Sebastian Cabot sailed in 1516 with sir John Pert to Porto Rico, and afterwards returned to Spain, from which country he conducted that expedition to the Rio de la Plata, of which mention has been made above.‡ But in the year 1548, when Henry VIII. was on the throne, he returned to England; and on the accession of Edward VI. was created by the young king pilot major, and received from him a pension for life of 500 marks or 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year,—a munificent reward in those days, and deservedly bestowed. Cabot was placed at the head of the society of merchant adventurers; and by his zeal, mature judgment, and extensive experience, contributed not a little to kindle and direct that spirit of maritime enterprise by which England has risen to her present naval eminence.

The discoveries of Cabot soon attracted the attention of the Spaniards and Portuguese, who dreaded nothing more than rivalry for the dominion of the seas. Indeed, there seems little reason to doubt that a Portuguese navigator had discovered Newfoundland long before the time of Cabot. John Vaz Costa Cortereal, a gentleman of the royal household, had explored the northern seas by order of Alphonso V. about the year 1463, and discovered the *Terra de Baccalhaos* or land of cod fish, afterwards called Newfoundland.§ There is even reason to believe that the Portuguese were in the habit not only of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, but of settling there also, toward the close of the fifteenth century. Gaspar, the son of John Cortereal, sailed from Lisbon in the year 1500, and, steering northward from the Azores, discovered in 60° land, to which he gave

* Hakluyt. † Peter Martyr. ‡ See page 89.
§ Barrow's Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Regions.

the name of *Terra Verde*, that is, Greenland. From his own account it appears, that having employed nearly a year in this voyage, he had discovered between west and north-west a continent till then unknown to the rest of the world; that he ran along the coast upwards of 800 miles; that, according to his conjecture, this land lay near a region formerly approached by the Venetians*, and almost at the north pole; and that he was unable to proceed farther on account of the great mountains of ice which encumbered the sea, and the continued snows. The great country discovered by Cortereal is evidently that which is at present known by the name of Labrador, to which geographical writers in the sixteenth century not unfrequently gave the name of *Cortereallis*.

Gaspar Cortereal, elated by his discoveries, and confident that he should find a north-western passage to India, easily obtained the king's consent to undertake a second voyage; and sailed from Lisbon in May, 1501, never more to return. His voyage is said to have been prosperous as far as Greenland; but there a storm separated the ships: his consort returned; but Cortereal was never again heard of.

His brother, Michael Cortereal, sailed in search of him the following year, with three vessels. When they arrived upon the coast of the newly discovered land, which is broken by numerous rivers and inlets, the ships separated, in order that they might examine the coast more narrowly, having arranged to meet at a certain point on the 20th of August. Two of the vessels did actually return according to the appointment; but Michael Cortereal never made his appearance, and no tidings were ever received of his fate. Vasco Eanes Cortereal, master of the king's household, disconsolate for the loss of his brothers, determined to go himself to unfold the mystery which hung over their fate. But the king, having already lost two of his most valued servants, resolved to preserve the third; and could not be prevailed upon, by any entreaties, to part with the only sur-

* An allusion to the voyages of the Zeni, see vol. i. p. 221.

viving branch of the family, to which he was sincerely attached.

These voyages, though they terminated so unfortunately to the individuals that conducted them, familiarised the Portuguese seamen with the navigation of the Northern Ocean, and thereby conduced not a little to the progress of discovery in that quarter. Very extensive fisheries were carried on by the Portuguese on the banks of Newfoundland, employing at one time between two and three hundred vessels from the ports of Viana and Aveiro alone. This source of prosperity, opened by the efforts, or we may say the self-devotion, of the Cortereals, continued as long as Portugal remained an independent monarchy.*

The French nation alone seems to have remained unaffected by that impulse of curiosity or love of glory which urged other nations forward in the career of geographical discovery. Yet the French were not indifferent to the gains of commerce, or slow to avail themselves of the discoveries made by their neighbours. In 1508, a mariner of Dieppe, named Aubert or Hubert, sailed to Newfoundland, and brought home with him a native of that country, who was exhibited to the court in Paris. But no schemes of enterprise arose out of this adventure, nor do we hear any thing more of French discoveries till 1534, when Jaques Cartier examined the river Saint Lawrence; in which, however, he was unquestionably preceded by Cortereal and the Spanish navigator Velasco. From Cartier we learn, that among the natives inhabiting the northern banks of the Saint Lawrence, a hamlet or collection of houses was called *canada*,—the name which Europeans have subsequently given to the whole country. A more fantastical derivation of this name has been widely circulated. It is said, that when the Spaniards first entered the river, and sought in vain to discover any traces of the precious metals, they cried out, in their disappointment, *Aca nada!* or, "Nothing here!" and these words, being caught up by the savages,

* Barrow.

and repeated by them to the Europeans who afterwards arrived there, were considered to be the name of the country.

The spirit of discovery seems also to have languished in England at the commencement of the sixteenth century; or, which is more probable, the feeble efforts of early voyagers were not crowned with the brilliant success necessary to attract the attention of the historians of that age. The first enterprise undertaken solely by Englishmen was suggested by Mr. Robert Thorne, a wealthy merchant of Bristol, who had long resided at Seville, and who had imbibed, perhaps in Spain, the spirit of geographical discovery. He is said to have exhorted king Henry VIII. "with very weighty and substantial reasons to set forth a discoverie even to the north pole." And such a voyage seems actually to have taken place. For we are informed that "king Henry VIII. sent two fair ships, well manned and victualled, having in them divers cunning men, to seek strange regions; and so they set forth out of the Thames the 20th day of May, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the yeare of our Lord 1527." * All that we know of the result of this voyage is, that one of the ships was cast away on the north of Newfoundland. Again, in 1536, a voyage of discovery to the north-west parts of America was projected by a person named Hore, of London; "a man of goodly stature, and of great courage, and given to the studie of cosmographie." It is remarkable, that of six-score persons who accompanied him, thirty were gentlemen of the inns of court and chancery; whence it may be concluded that the pursuit of science and gratification of a laudable curiosity were the object of this voyage, rather than mercantile speculations. But this enterprise had a calamitous termination, unworthy the disinterested motives that gave birth to it. On their arrival in Newfoundland, they suffered so much from famine that they were driven to the horrible expedient of cannibalism. While gathering roots in the woods for their subsistence,

* Hakluyt.

some were treacherously murdered and devoured by their companions. The captain, on hearing the circumstance, endeavoured to bring back the crew to a sense of their duty, and to teach them resignation, by keeping alive their hopes. But the famine increased, and they were driven to the necessity of casting lots who should perish. The same night a French ship arrived on the coast; and the English, by a stratagem with which we are not made acquainted, contrived to make themselves masters of the vessel, and returned home. The Frenchmen were afterwards liberally indemnified by Henry VIII., who pardoned the violence to which necessity had impelled the English adventurers.

The foreign trade of England in the sixteenth century hardly extended beyond the Flemish towns, Iceland, and a limited fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. But the presence and counsel of Sebastian Cabot, who was well acquainted with the bold navigations of the Spaniards, opened the views and inflamed the ambition of a people not insensible of their own capabilities. When that experienced navigator was created grand pilot of England by Edward VI., he was at the same time constituted "governour of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discoverie of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknowen." By his advice, and under his direction, a voyage was undertaken in 1553 for the discovery of a north-east passage to Cathay. Three ships were fitted out for this expedition, of which sir Hugh Willoughby was appointed captain-general. Richard Chancelor, the pilot major of the fleet, commanded the *Edward Bonadventure*. As the promoters of this expedition had no doubt of its success, they omitted none of those precautions which were deemed necessary for the safety of vessels navigating the Indian seas, and caused them to be sheathed with lead in order to defend them from the worms that were found to be destructive to wooden sheathing in warm climates. This is the first account we have of ships coated in England with a metallic substance. That

practice, as we have seen, was long familiar to the Spaniards. *

While the ships lay at Greenwich, where the court at that time resided, the mariners received every mark of royal favour which could cheer and encourage men embarking on a dangerous and important enterprise. But the result of this voyage, which held out such flattering promises, was most disastrous to the gallant sir Hugh Willoughby and his brave associates, who, with the whole of the merchants, officers, and ship's company, as well as those of the *Bona Confidentia*, to the number of seventy persons, perished miserably, from the effects of cold and hunger, on a barren and uninhabited part of the eastern coast of Lapland, at the mouth of a river called Arzina, not far from the harbour of Kegor. The ships and the dead bodies of those that perished were discovered the following year by some Russian fishermen; and from papers found in the admiral's ship, and especially by the date of his will, it appeared that most of the company of the two ships were alive in January, 1554. They had entered the river on the 18th of September preceding. No regular journals appear to have been kept in the ships. That of sir Hugh Willoughby is extremely meagre, and contains only the following brief reference to their distressed situation:—

"Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeere farre spent and also very evill wether, as frost, snowe, and haile, as though it had been the deepe of winter, we thought it best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men south-south-west, to search if they could find people; who went three dayes journey, but could find none. After that we sent out other three westward, four dayes journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men south-east, three dayes journey, who in like sorte returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation."

Richard Chancelor, the pilo of the fleet, was more fortunate in his voyage. He seems to have held a

* See page 100. Barrow's Chronological Hist. p. 66.

northerly course; or, as he expresses it, "he sailed so far towards that unknown part of the world, that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea." At length he entered a great bay, where he found inhabitants, who first seemed alarmed at his arrival; but on becoming acquainted with "the singular gentlenesse and courtisie of the strangers, they brought them provisions, and entered into familiar intercourse with them." Our navigators learned that the country in which they had arrived was Russia or Muscovy, governed by a king named Juan Vasilovich. Chancelor managed his negotiations with address, and had the courage to undertake a journey of nearly 1500 miles to Moscow, where he was favourably entertained; and his able agency laid the foundation of that commercial intercourse which has since subsisted with little interruption between England and Russia.*

The account of his first interview with the czar of Moscow is extremely curious and entertaining. The English travellers were astonished beyond measure at the pomp and magnificence of the Russian court. The emperor at first observed towards the strangers a reserved and stately carriage; but, at the second interview, he conversed more familiarly with them. "The prince called them to his table, to receive each a cup from his hand to drinke, and took into his hand master George Killingworthes beard, which reached over the table, and pleasantly delivered it to the metropolitan, who, seeming to bless it, said in Russ, 'This is God's gift;' as indeed at that time it was not only thick, broad, and yellow coulered, but in length five foot and two inches of assize." In the following spring, Chancelor sailed from Archangel, and arrived safely in England, bringing with him a letter from the czar to Edward VI.* The fortunate result of Chancelor's voyage, and the prospect of establishing a trade with an extensive empire, appeared

* Hakluyt.

to compensate the unhappy fate of Willoughby, and the failure of the expedition in its immediate object. A new charter was granted to the community of merchants adventurers; and Richard Chancelor, with two others, was commissioned to treat with the czar of Muscovy, with respect to the commercial privileges and immunities which he might be pleased to grant to the newly chartered company. The adventurers were instructed not merely to seek for commercial gain, but also to increase their information, and "to use all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men maye pass from Russia, either by land or by sea, to Cathaia."

But while preparations were made to despatch Chancelor a second time to Russia, towards which country the singular events of his first expedition invited his exertions, the project of a north-eastern passage was not wholly abandoned. Stephen Burrow, who had accompanied Chancelor in the preceding voyage, sailed in April, 1556, in a small vessel, to explore the northern seas. On the last day of July they reached the island of Waigatz, and learned from the Russians that the land ahead of them was called *Nova Zembla*, or the New Land, and that the people who inhabited the great islands were called Samoeds, and had no houses, but tents made of deer-skins. On landing they found a multitude of idols belonging to this people, rudely carved, and in some instances smeared with blood. The prevalence of the eastern winds prevented our adventurers from advancing beyond this point; and wintering at Colmagro, they returned to England the ensuing year. In the mean time Chancelor had proceeded on his embassy to Archangel and to Moscow, and is said to have made a profitable voyage. On his return home, in 1556, he was accompanied by Osep Neped, the ambassador of the czar. But the voyage was most calamitous; of four ships which composed the fleet, three suffered shipwreck. The vessel in which Chancelor and the ambassador had embarked was wrecked in Pitsligo Bay, on the eastern coast of Scotland; and Chancelor, with

most of the crew, were drowned: the ambassador was saved with much difficulty. He was conducted to London with great pomp; treated with much kindness and distinction; and the commercial relations of the two countries were established on a closer and more solid basis.*

The efforts thus made for the discovery of a north-eastern passage to the Indies, though failing in their specific object, yet, like every other exertion of human energy and industry, were crowned, as we have seen, with positive though unexpected advantages. Perhaps the flattering results as well as the disappointments of those voyages had a tendency to stimulate the vigour of discovery in another direction, and to revive the question of a north-west passage round America to Cathay and the East Indies. Many sound observations, and not a few questionable or even fabulous relations, were adduced to countenance the opinion of the possibility of such a passage. Martin Frobisher, a mariner of great experience and ability, had persuaded himself that the voyage was not only feasible, but of easy execution; and "as it was the only thing of the world that was left yet undone whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate," he persisted, for fifteen years, in endeavouring to procure the equipment of the expedition which was the constant object of his hopes and speculations.

At length, in 1576, by the patronage of Dudley earl of Warwick, he was enabled to fit out two small vessels, one of thirty-five and the other of thirty tons. As our adventurers passed Greenwich, where the court then resided, queen Elizabeth gave them an encouraging farewell, by waving her hand to them from the window. On the 11th of July Frobisher discovered land, which he supposed to be the Friezeland of Zeno: but the land which he believed to be an island, is evidently the southern part of Greenland. He was compelled by the floating ice to direct his course to the south-west, till he reached

* Hakluyt, vol. i.

Labrador. Sailing to the northward along this coast, he entered a strait in latitude 63° 8′, which was afterwards named Lumley's Inlet. The Esquimaux in their boats or kajaks were mistaken by our voyagers for porpoises, or some kind of strange fish. With one of these "strange infideles, whose like was never seen, read, nor heard of before," Frobisher set sail for England, where he arrived on the 2d of October, "highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathaia." One of his seamen chanced to bring home with him a stone, as a memorial of his voyage to those distant countries; but his wife throwing it into the fire, it "glistered with a bright marquesset of gold." This accident was soon noised abroad; and the gold-finers of London, being called upon to assay the stone, reported that it contained a considerable quantity of gold. Thus the hope of finding gold again became the incentive to distant voyages and geographical researches. The queen now openly favoured the enterprise; and Frobisher again departed, in May, 1577, with three ships, one of which was equipped by her majesty. He sagaciously observed, that the ice which encumbers the northern seas must be formed in the sounds, or inland near the pole, and that the main sea never freezes. He steered for the strait where his preceding voyage had terminated, and sought the spot where the supposed gold ore had been picked up, but could not find on the whole island "a piece so big as a walnut." On the neighbouring islands, however, the ore was found in large quantities. In their examination of Frobisher's Strait, they were unable to establish a pacific intercourse with the natives. Two women were seized; of whom one, being old and ugly, was thought to be a devil or a witch, and was consequently dismissed. As gold, and not discovery, was the avowed object of this voyage, our adventurers occupied themselves in providing a cargo, and actually got on board almost 200 tons of the glittering mineral which they believed to be ore. When the lading was com-

pleted, they set sail homewards; and though the ships were dispersed by violent storms, they all arrived safely in different ports of England.

The queen and the persons engaged in this adventure were delighted to find "that the matter of the gold ore had appearance and made show of great riches and profit, and that the hope of the passage to Cathaia by this last voyage greatly increased." The queen gave the name of *Meta Incognita* to the newly discovered country, on which it was resolved to establish a colony. For this purpose a fleet of fifteen ships was got ready, and 100 persons appointed to form the settlement, and remain there the whole year, keeping with them three of the ships: the other twelve were to bring back cargoes of gold ore. Frobisher was appointed admiral in general of the expedition, and on taking leave received from the queen a gold chain as a mark of her approbation of his past conduct. The fleet sailed on the 31st of May, 1578, and in three weeks discovered Friezeland, of which possession was formally taken, and then held its course direct to Frobisher's Straits. The voyage hitherto had been prosperous, but distresses and vexations of every kind thwarted the attempt to fix a colony. Violent storms dispersed the fleet; drift-ice choked up the strait; one small bark, on board of which was the wooden house intended for the settlers, was crushed by the icebergs and instantly went down; thick fogs, heavy snow, with tides and currents of extraordinary violence, bewildered the mariners, and involved them in endless distresses. At length, after enduring extreme hardships, it was resolved to return, and postpone to the ensuing year the attempt to make a settlement in the country. The storms which had frustrated the object of the expedition pursued the fleet in its passage homeward: the ships were scattered, but arrived at the various ports of England before the commencement of October.*

The Busse of Bridgewater, in her homeward passage, fell in with a large island to the south-east of Frieze-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii.

land, in latitude 57½°, which had never before been discovered; and sailed three days along the coast, the land appearing to be fertile, full of wood, and a fine champagne country. On this authority the island was laid down in our charts, but was never afterwards seen, and certainly does not exist; though a bank has recently been sounded upon, which has revived the opinion that the Friezeland of Zeno and the land seen by the Busse of Bridgewater were one and the same island, which has been since swallowed up by an earthquake.*

Success seems to have deserted Frobisher after his first voyage, which alone indeed had discovery for its object. When the sanguine expectations to which he had given birth were disappointed, his voyages were looked upon as a total failure; and he appears himself, for a time, to have fallen into neglect. But in 1585 he served with sir Francis Drake in the West Indies; three years later he commanded one of the largest ships of the fleet which defeated the Spanish armada; and his gallant conduct on that trying occasion procured him the honour of knighthood.

Frobisher's zeal in the pursuit of north-western discoveries is supposed to have been fostered by the writings of sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of brilliant talents and romantic temper. When we contemplate the early discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese, we see needy adventurers, and men of desperate character and fortune, pursuing gain or licentiousness with violence and bloodshed. But the English navigators, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, sought to extend our knowledge of the globe, were men of a different stamp, and driven forward by motives of a more honourable nature. They undertook the most difficult navigations through seas perpetually agitated by storms and encumbered with ice, in vessels of the most frail construction and of small burden; they encountered all the difficulties and distresses of a rigorous climate, and, in most cases, with a very distant or with no prospect of ultimate

* Barrow's Chron. Hist. p. 94.

pecuniary advantage. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was one of those gallant spirits who engaged in the career of discovery chiefly from the love of fame and thirst of achievement. In 1578 he obtained a patent, authorising him to undertake western discoveries, and to possess lands unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects. The grant in the patent was made perpetual, but was at the same time declared void unless acted upon within six years. In compliance with this condition sir Humphrey prepared, in 1583, to take possession of the northern parts of America and Newfoundland. In the same year queen Elizabeth conferred on his younger brother, Adrian Gilbert, the privilege of making discoveries of a passage to China and the Moluccas, by the north-westward, north-eastward, or northward; directing the company, of which he was the head, to be incorporated by the name of "The colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north-west passage."

The fleet of sir Humphrey consisted of five ships, of different burthens, from 10 to 200 tons, in which were embarked about 260 men, including shipwrights, masons, smiths, and carpenters, besides "mineral men and refiners;" and for the amusement of the crew, "and allurement of the savages, they were provided of music in good variety, not omitting the least toyes, as morrice dancers, hobby horses, and Maylike conceits, to delight the savage people, whom they intended to win by all fair means possible." This little fleet reached Newfoundland on the 30th of July. It is noticed, that at this early period, "the Portugals and French chiefly have a notable trade of fishing on the Newfoundland bank, where there are sometimes more than a hundred sail of ships."

On entering St. John's, possession was taken in the queen's name of the harbour and 200 leagues every way; parcels of land were granted out; but the attention of the general was chiefly directed to the discovery of the precious metals.

The colony being thus apparently established, sir

Humphrey Gilbert embarked in his small frigate, the Squirrel, which was, in fact, a miserable bark of ten tons; and, taking with him two other ships, proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward. One of these vessels, the Delight, was soon after wrecked among the shoals near Sable Island; and of above 100 men on board, only twelve escaped. Among those who perished were the historian and the mineralogist of the expedition; a circumstance which preyed upon the mind of sir Humphrey, whose ardent temper fondly cherished the hope of fame and of inestimable riches. He now determined to return to England; but as his little frigate, as she is called, appeared wholly unfit to proceed on such a voyage, he was entreated not to venture in her, but to take his passage in the Golden Hinde. To these solicitations the gallant knight replied, "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." When the two vessels had passed the Azores, sir Humphrey's frigate was observed to be nearly overwhelmed by a great sea: she recovered, however, the stroke of the waves; and immediately afterwards the general was observed, by those in the Hinde, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, and calling out, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven by sea as by land." The same night this little bark, and all within her, were swallowed up in the sea, and never more heard of. Such was the unfortunate end of the brave sir Humphrey Gilbert, who may be regarded as the father of the western colonisation, and who was one of the chief ornaments of the most chivalrous age of English history.*

* Hakluyt, vol. iii.

CHAP. XI.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH.

VOYAGES OF JOHN DAVIS. — RESULT OF HIS RESEARCHES. — HE BELIEVES IN THE EXISTENCE OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE. — NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS OF THE DUTCH. — VOYAGES OF WILLIAM BARENTZ. — CORNELISON PASSES THE STRAIT OF WAIGATZ. — BARENTZ REACHES THE NORTHERN EXTREMITY OF NOVA ZEMBLA. — DESCRIPTION OF THE WALRUS. — SECOND VOYAGE OF BARENTZ. — INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE SAMOYEDS. — THIRD VOYAGE. — SPITZBERGEN AND CHERRY ISLAND DISCOVERED. — BARENTZ AND HIS CREW WINTER IN NOVA ZEMBLA. — THEIR SUFFERINGS. — EXTRAORDINARY REFRACTION. — DEATH OF BARENTZ, AND VOYAGE OF THE CREW IN OPEN BOATS. — ATTEMPTS OF THE DANES TO EXPLORE GREENLAND. — VOYAGES OF JAMES HALL. — FATE OF HALL AND OF KNIGHT. — HENRY HUDSON. — HE MAKES OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIP OF THE NEEDLE. — HIS VOYAGE TOWARDS THE POLE. — SECOND VOYAGE. — PLACE OF THE MAGNETIC POLE. — A MERMAID DESCRIBED. — THIRD VOYAGE. — DISCOVERS HUDSON'S RIVER. — FOURTH VOYAGE. — SAILS TO THE WEST. — ENTERS HUDSON'S BAY. — NARRATIVE OF HIS PROCEEDING. — MUTINY OF THE CREW. — HUDSON AND THE SICK MEN TURNED ADRIFT. — RETURN OF THE MUTINEERS.

THE zeal and ability exerted by Frobisher in the cause of north-western discovery was foiled, as we have seen, by the vain pursuit of the precious metals. The ill success of the recent voyages restored speculation to its legitimate pursuit; and it was now resolved to despatch an expedition of which discovery should be the sole object.

The merchants of London, being satisfied "of the likelihood of the discovery of the north-west passage," fitted out two small barks, the one of fifty, the other of thirty-five tons, which they entrusted to the command of John Davis, an expert and courageous seaman. He sailed from Dartmouth on the 7th of June, 1585, and by the middle of July was on the western side of Greenland, where the coast presented such a bleak and

gloomy aspect, that Davis gave it the name of the *Land of Desolation*. Here he found a great quantity of drift-wood, and picked up a tree sixty feet in length. From this coast he stood to the north-west, where he saw land in latitude 64° 15′; the air being temperate, and the sea free from ice. This proved to be a group of islands among which were numerous good harbours. To that in which Davis cast anchor he gave the name of Gilbert's Sound, in honour of his patron, Mr. Adrian Gilbert, the brother of the unfortunate sir Humphrey. The natives were numerous and friendly; they danced with the sailors, and shared with them whatever they possessed. On the 1st of August Davis stood to the north-west, and on the 6th discovered land in lat. 66° 40′: they anchored under a promontory, which they named Mount Raleigh, "the cliffs whereof were orient as gold." The foreland towards the north they called Dier's Cape, and that towards the south Cape Walsingham. Proceeding to the northward, an open strait was discovered to the west, from twenty to thirty leagues wide, and quite free from ice. The colour of the sea also resembling that of the main ocean, gave our adventurers greater hopes of their having found the long-sought passage. They proceeded sixty leagues towards the west, until they saw a cluster of islands in the middle of the strait. But meeting here with thick mists and adverse winds, they were unable to make farther progress, and returning home in consequence, arrived at Dartmouth on the 30th of September.

The discovery of a free and open passage to the westward; the friendly disposition of the natives, who seemed disposed to maintain a brisk commerce of peltry; and the general ability manifested by Davis in the conduct of his voyage; encouraged the merchants in the west of England to assist him in fitting out a second expedition. On the 7th of May he again sailed from Dartmouth; and by the middle of June had reached the west side of Greenland, where the natives came to him in great

numbers to trade, with the skins of seals, stags, white hares, and with fish. They were believed by our sailors to be witches, and to practise many kinds of enchantments. The icebergs which Davis saw in this voyage were of so great a size that he declines describing them, lest his veracity should be called in question. From the cold occasioned by the accumulation of ice, the seamen became sickly and dispirited, and it was with difficulty that Davis could prevail on them to persist in the voyage northwards. In latitude 66° 33′ N. land was descried, which turned out to be a group of islands. The sea was now free from ice, the weather extremely warm, and musquitoes were very numerous and troublesome. In latitude 67° they found land to the westward; and running southward to 54°, they saw numberless inlets, which, from the appearance of the sea, kept alive their hopes of a passage. But the weather proving tempestuous on the coast of Labrador, Davis steered homewards, and arrived in England in the beginning of October. During the greater part of this voyage he was alone in the Moonshine, a little bark of only 35 tons.

Though in the preceding voyages Davis had neither discovered the north-west passage nor established an important commerce, he had so much enlarged his nautical experience, and found so many great arms of the sea conducting to the west, that his hopes of finally succeeding in the attempt were rather inflamed than depressed by the result of his previous efforts. A third voyage was therefore resolved on; and he sailed from Dartmouth, with two vessels, on the 19th of May, 1587. In June he was on the west coast of Greenland, along which he held his course till he reached 72° 12′, where, finding the sea open, he turned to the west, and ran forty leagues in that direction without seeing any land. By currents or the violence of the north winds they were driven to the south, and arrived at the strait discovered by Davis in his first voyage, and which is now named Cumberland Strait. They explored it about sixty leagues; and then running to the south-east across

a great gulf, they descried, in latitude 61° 10′, a headland, to which they gave the name of Cape Chidley. Thus it appears that the straits which bear the name of Hudson were in reality discovered by Davis, whose name, however, is very properly given to the strait in which he sailed to the highest point of northern latitude.

Davis arrived in England on the 15th of September. The result of his three voyages was not such as to encourage the merchants to support him in the farther prosecution of his researches. But his own zeal continued unabated; and he believed that as he became acquainted with the western seas he approximated to the discovery of the north-western course to India, the navigation of which he imagined to be not only practicable but easy. In a little volume published by him a few years after his return *, he gives an interesting and vivid summary of his three voyages. He says, that he advanced eighty leagues in Cumberland Strait, and found that the tide ebbed six fathoms, which he regards as a proof of its connection with the main ocean. He expresses an opinion that the northern regions of the new continent are all islands; an opinion maintained by the ablest navigators, from the time of Sebastian Cabot to the present day. Davis also affirms that he sailed northward, in the sea at present called Baffin's Bay, to the latitude of 75°. This intrepid seaman, who subsequently accompanied Candish in his second voyage to the Straits of Magellan, and who persisted singly in forcing a passage into the Pacific Ocean, afterwards entered into the service of the Dutch, and made no less than five voyages to the East Indies,—an instance, in those days, of wonderful good fortune.

When the Dutch were driven to assert their independence, and to aim at sharing in that lucrative commerce which had hitherto been engrossed by the Spaniards, they did not at first think of encountering their oppressors in their established track, but deemed it more advisable to reach the Indies, if possible, by a

* The Worlde's Hydrographicall Discription, 1595.

course to which usurpation had hitherto advanced no claim. In consequence, they turned all their attention to the discovery of a north-eastern passage; and in 1594 the United Provinces sent forth an expedition, of which Cornelis Cornelison was admiral, and William Barentz the chief pilot. Cornelison, having passed North Cape, found the weather in July as warm as in Holland in the dog-days, and the musquitoes were exceedingly troublesome. The island of Waigatz was covered with verdure, and embellished with a variety of beautiful flowers. The idols seen by Burrow were also observed by the Dutch, who named that part of the island *Afgoden Hoek*, or Idol Point. By the Russians it is called *Waigati Noss*, or the Cape of carved Images: and hence, undoubtedly, the name of Waigatz is derived. But as that name might signify *windy strait* in the Dutch language, some have supposed that it was first employed by Cornelison and his companions, though it is evident that Stephen Burrow was acquainted with it many years before. The Dutch admiral passed the Straits of Waigatz, and at first met with considerable interruption, but afterwards reached a deep blue sea. About forty leagues from the strait the main land in sight appeared trending to the south-east. This direction of the coast, with the depth and openness of the sea, gave our navigators such confident hopes of a passage to Cathay, that, instead of prosecuting their discoveries, they agreed to return to Holland with the happy tidings. They consequently repassed the strait, and arrived safely in Holland on the 26th of September.

In the mean time Barentz, who had not sailed in company with the admiral, crossing the White Sea to the north-eastward, arrived on the coast of Nova Zembla on the 4th of July, and followed the shores of that country towards the north till they reached latitude 77° 25′, where they found an extensive field of ice of which they could not descry the end. They were in consequence obliged to return towards the south, and employ themselves among the islands in lading the ships

with the teeth of the walrus or sea-horse. Of this animal an accurate and lively description is given by the Dutch journalist. "This sea-horse is a wonderful strong monster of the sea, much bigger than an oxe, which keepes continually in the seas, having a skin like a sea-calfe or seale, with very short hayre, mouthed like a lion, and many times they lye upon the ice. They are hardly killed, unlesse you strike them just upon the forehead. It hath four feete, but no eares; and commonly it hath two young ones at a time. And when the fishermen chance to finde them upon a flake of ice with their young ones, shee casteth her young ones before her into the water, and then takes them in her arms, and so plungeth up and downe with them: and when she will revenge herselfe upon the boates, or make resistance against them, then she casts her young ones from her againe, and with all her force goeth towards the boate; whereby our men were once in no small danger, for that the sea-horse had almost stricken her teeth into the sterne of their boate, thinking to overthrow it, but by meanes of the great crie that the men made she was afraide, and swomme away againe, and tooke her young ones againe in her armes. They have two teeth sticking out of their mouthes on each side, each being about halfe an ell long, and are esteemed to bee as good as any ivorie or elephants' teeth." *

Barentz, in returning southward, touched at a place in 71° 33′, which had been previously visited by Oliver Brunell, an Englishman, of whose voyages we know nothing but from the obscure allusions of the Dutch navigators. He shortly afterwards joined the ships of Cornelison, and returned with him to Holland.

This voyage raised the hopes of those who panted for the discovery of a north-eastern passage to China. The states-general equipped a fleet of seven vessels, six of which were laden with merchandise suited to the eastern market, and Barentz was appointed chief pilot of the expedition: but the fleet departed too late to effect any

* Three Voyages made by the Dutch; trans. by Phillip, 1597.

thing of importance; the coast of Nova Zembla was rendered unapproachable by the ice. On passing through Waigatz, the Dutch fell in with a Russian boat from Petchora, sewed together with ropes, in quest of walrus' teeth, seals, and fowls. From the Russians they learned that in nine or ten weeks the cold would be so intense, and the rivers frozen so hard, that men might pass over the ice to Tatary. From the Samoyeds, whom they conversed with here, they learned that five days' sailing to the north-east would bring them to a point of land beyond which the coast took a south-easterly direction. This piece of intelligence was received with great joy, as tending to confirm their hopes of a passage to China. But as the cold was now severe, and the weather unfavourable, it was resolved to return home; and the fleet arrived safely in the Maes on the 18th of November.

Two expensive expeditions having thus terminated in disappointment, the states-general felt no longer disposed to prosecute the discovery of a north-eastern passage. Yet, unwilling to relinquish the hope, and aware of the benefits that must accrue to the state from fostering a maritime spirit in the people, they issued a proclamation offering a certain reward to such persons as should accomplish a voyage to China by the desired route. The merchants of Amsterdam were thus encouraged to fit out two ships, the command of which they entrusted to the experienced pilot Barentz. He sailed at an earlier period than on his preceding voyage, and by the 1st of June had reached so high a latitude that he had no night. On the 9th he arrived at *Bear* (afterwards called *Cherry*) *Island*, where the Dutch killed a bear whose skin measured twelve feet in length. Ten days afterwards they discovered land to the eastward, and found by observation they were in latitude 80° 11′. This is unquestionably the first discovery of Spitzbergen. The Dutch were surprised to find that this northern land was covered with good herbage, and supplied with herds of deer, while Nova Zembla, four degrees to the south, was a bleak and barren desert. Here also they found a multitude of red geese, such as

visit some parts of Holland in the winter, but of which, as our author says, "it was never known till this time where they hatched their eggs; so that some men have taken upon them to write that they sit upon trees in Scotland that hang over the water, and such eggs as fall from them down into the water become young geese, and swim there out of the water; but those that fall upon the land burst in sunder and are lost." Thus the fable of the barnacles was supposed to be for the first time experimentally refuted.

From Spitzbergen the two ships steered south-west till they arrived at Bear Island: and here they agreed to part company; Jan Cornelis wishing to examine the east coast of Spitzbergen, while Barentz hoped to find the passage to the eastward in a lower parallel. He steered accordingly for Nova Zembla, where by the first week in August he had reached the latitude of 77°. But strong winds from the east opposing his progress, he was obliged to make fast the ship to an immense iceberg, which soon after burst into innumerable fragments with a sudden explosion. Being forced to return, they reached with difficulty Icehaven, in lat. 73° 50′, on the 26th, and here the ice which had beset them in the voyage immediately closed them up. The unhappy crew, now reduced to seventeen persons, found themselves under the necessity of passing the winter in this dreary and inhospitable spot. Luckily for them, the drift-wood on the shore was sufficiently abundant to supply them with fuel and with the materials for a house. They calmly prepared to meet the difficulties of their situation; and the journal of their sufferings is rendered doubly interesting by their patience and resignation. It is difficult to conceive, and impossible to describe in adequate language, the feelings of men thus doomed to an abode of darkness, desolation, and intense cold, where bears and foxes are the only inhabitants of the forlorn scene. On the 4th of November the last rays of the sun forsook them, and the cold increased until it became almost too intense for endurance. Their wine and beer were frozen and

deprived of their strength. By means of great fires, of applying heated stones to their feet, and wrapping themselves in double fox-skin coats, they were just able to keep themselves from being frozen. But in searching for drift-wood they were obliged to endure acute pain and to brave imminent danger. They were also frequently attacked by bears, which fearlessly assaulted their wooden hut. But they found means to kill some of those animals, the fat of which they used for their lamps. It is remarkable, that when the sun disappeared the bears also took their departure, and then the white foxes came in great numbers. These animals, which served at once for food and clothing, were easily taken by traps set on the roof of the house.

When the 19th of December arrived, these unhappy men derived comfort from the consideration that the season of darkness had half expired, and that with the return of the sun they would find new resources and means of preservation. Their spirits were not so far sunk as to prevent them from celebrating Twelfth-eve with an extra allowance of wine and with games. The gunner was made king of Nova Zembla, "which is at least 200 miles long, and lyeth between two seas." At length the joyful moment arrived. On the 27th of January the entire disc of the sun was visible above the horizon, to the surprise of Barentz, who did not expect its appearance for fourteen days to come. But the calculation of Barentz was undoubtedly erroneous; while, on the other hand, the narrative cannot be easily explained; for, under ordinary circumstances of refraction, the appearance of the sun would seem to have been premature by seven or eight days. The appearance of the northern limb of the sun above the horizon on the 24th of January, in lat. 76° N., supposes a refraction of nearly three degrees. With the light of the sun the bears also returned. The weather grew more boisterous and inclement, so that it was June before they could set about repairing their two boats: for the ship was too much injured by the ice to be again re-

fitted by their feeble exertions. On the 13th of that month they prepared to quit their wretched abode; but Barentz first drew up in writing, and left in the wooden hut, a list of their names, with an account of their misfortunes, and a description of what had befallen them while residing there. They then left Icy Haven in two small boats. But Barentz, enfeebled by sickness and anxiety, was unable to profit from the gleam of hope which now broke in upon them. He died on the 20th, to the great affliction of the crew, who placed unbounded confidence in his skill and experience. There are many instances on record of long voyages performed through the ocean in open boats; but, perhaps, there is not one of so extraordinary a character as the present, in which two small boats ventured to cross the frozen ocean, more than 1100 miles, continually threatened by masses of floating ice, liable to the attack of bears, and exposed for upwards of forty days to the extremities of cold, famine, sickness, and fatigue. At length the exhausted crews arrived at Cola, where they found three Dutch ships, in which they embarked, and reached the Maes in safety in October, 1597.

The unfortunate issue of all the voyages hitherto undertaken in the cause of northern discovery did not produce the discouragement that might have been expected. The lucrative monopoly enjoyed by the Spaniards of the commerce of the East, magnified in the eyes of political rivals, was a temptation as strong as it was permanent. The first voyage of the English to the East Indies proved a miserable failure. But captain Lancaster, on his return from it, brought back the information that the passage to the Indies by the west was in latitude 62° 30′ N. This piece of intelligence, which had no better foundation than the fabulous achievements of some Spanish navigators, gave rise to an expedition despatched in 1602 under the command of captain Weymouth, but which was not productive of any advantage.

The rapid progress of navigation and geographical

discoveries in the sixteenth century was favoured by the competition of the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and the ardour with which they disputed the possession of the opposite hemisphere. The hostilities which sprang up in the course of that century between the Spanish and English nations introduced a third party to struggle for the prize. The Dutch, forced into the war of independence by the tyranny of Philip, and encouraged by the example of the English, were urged by prudence as well as animosity to snatch from the Spaniards a share of the lucrative commerce of the East. The political movement, thus originating in peculiar circumstances, was soon propagated amongst neutral states; and nations at first indifferent spectators of the contest eagerly joined in the race, when a prospect of advantage was opened to view. During the first expeditions towards the north-west, the Danes, who might have been supposed to have felt the deepest interest in the discovery of Greenland, looked on with indifference until the sanguine representations of the English navigators flattered them with the hopes of commercial profit. In 1605, the king of Denmark caused an expedition to be fitted out to explore the coasts of Greenland. Three small vessels were placed under the command of admiral Lindenau; but most of his inferior officers, and among others James Hall the chief pilot, were Englishmen. The vice-admiral's ship, commanded by a Dane, was deterred by the difficulties of navigating among the ice on the coast of Greenland, and stood away to the southward: but Hall persevered, and coasted the shore of that country as far as latitude 69°, discovering many good sounds, bays, and rivers, and meeting with great quantities of drift-wood, the presence of which occasioned him much surprise. He wished to persist in his northerly course; but his crew proved refractory; and having put on shore two Danish malefactors, who had been brought out for that purpose, he steered towards the south and returned home.

The following year, four small vessels were despatched

from Elsineur to follow up the discovery of Greenland, and Hall was again appointed pilot of the fleet. The object of this voyage appears to have been the discovery of mines of gold and silver, and not of the lost colonies; for when they arrived at Cunningham's Fiord, "they all landed to see the silver mine, where (says Hall) it was decreed we should take in as much as we could." On the banks of a river in 66° 25′ they saw about forty houses of the natives, built with whalebone, and covered over with earth. Here they seized five natives, whom they carried with them to Denmark. This fruitless expedition was succeeded in the following year by one still less creditable to the country from which it issued. The crew mutinied after reaching Greenland, and compelled Hall to return. This experienced mariner made a fourth voyage to Greenland in 1612, in the service of the merchant adventurers of London; but he had no sooner reached the coast from which, in his second voyage, the Danes had carried off the five Esquimaux, than a native, who recognised him as one of the aggressors, gave him a wound in the side with his dart, of which he died shortly after. Upon this all intercourse with the natives ceased, and the ships returned home without prosecuting their researches any further.

John Knight, who had accompanied Hall in his first expedition, and who had likewise brought home glowing accounts of the silver mines of Greenland, proceeded, in 1606, for the discovery of the north-west passage, in a small bark fitted out by the company of Muscovy merchants. On approaching the coast of Labrador, he was so threatened with the ice, which floated in large masses from the north, that he was obliged to take refuge in a cove, where he intended to draw his bark ashore and repair the injury she had sustained. As soon as he landed, he proceeded with three others towards the highest part of the island, in order to examine the country; but he never returned: and as the crew were soon after fiercely attacked by the natives, it was concluded that Knight and his companions had already fallen the

victims of their savage ferocity. The remainder of the crew, therefore, having repaired their vessel, steered for Newfoundland; whence, after numberless perils, they arrived in England.

So many defeats in the attempt to reach the Indies by a north-east or north-west passage diverted for a time the attention of the speculative to another direction. But hope, though checked, was not wholly subdued. The coast, discovered in the voyages to the north, had not been so accurately surveyed as to demonstrate the impossibility of the desired navigation. The numerous expeditions hitherto fitted out had proved fruitless, from difficulties of navigation which experience might learn to conquer. It was resolved by the merchants of London to explore a new route, and to seek a passage directly across the north pole. For this bold enterprise they selected Henry Hudson, a skilful and intrepid seaman, who appears to have united more than common science to the characteristic courage of his profession. He is supposed to be the first Englishman who made observations on the dip or inclination of the magnetic needle.* Hudson sailed from Gravesend on the 1st of May, 1607, in a small bark, with a crew of only ten men and a boy. The first land he saw was in latitude 70°, on the east coast of Greenland. Advancing three degrees farther, he descried a range of lofty mountains free from snow. The severity of the cold appeared to diminish beyond a certain latitude towards the north pole. The air was temperate, and the rain fell in large drops, like thunder-showers in England.

From Greenland he directed his course to *Newland*, or Spitzbergen, which he made in latitude 78°. Here he was much incommoded by the ice, which, he observes, commonly embarrasses a blue sea, while a green sea is comparatively free. In 80° some of his crew went on shore, and found morses' teeth, whalebone, deer's horns, and the tracks of other beasts. The land appeared to him to stretch far into 82°; but in this

* Barrow, p. 179.

observation, which rested chiefly on the colour of the sky, he was unquestionably deceived. As the season was now far advanced, and he had no stores for a protracted voyage, he bore up in his little bark on his return home, and arrived safely in the Thames on the 15th of September.

The following year Hudson was provided with a ship for a second voyage, and his crew was increased to fourteen men. As the ice had hindered him from passing to the northward of Spitzbergen, he was now directed to repeat the attempt to find a north-eastern passage to China. In the course of this voyage he made many interesting observations with the dipping needle, or *inclinatory*, as he calls it. In 74° 30′ the inclination of the needle was found to be 86°; and in 75° 22′ Hudson made an observation, which, if its correctness could be relied on, would lead to the conclusion that one of the magnetic poles was then situated near this parallel, somewhere between Nova Zembla and Cherry Island. In this part of his voyage, "one of our company (says Hudson) looking over boord, saw a mermaid; and calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men: a little after a sea came and overturned her. From the navill upwards her backe and breasts were like a woman's (as they say that saw her); her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke: in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a porpesse, and speckled like a macrell. Their names that saw her were Thomas Hilles and Robert Rayner."

Hudson found such a quantity of ice between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, that he lost all hope of effecting a passage in that direction, and resolved therefore to try the Straits of Waigatz, where he expected also to collect a cargo of walrus' teeth sufficient to defray the expense of his expedition. He describes Nova Zembla as a land pleasant to a man's eye, with much high land,

covered with verdure in many places. It is likewise to be remarked, that he considers the quantity of ice that encumbers the northern seas to arise from the extent of sea-coast which environs them; regarding it as certain that the main sea never freezes. Being foiled in his attempt to pass to the eastward, he steered home, and arrived safely at Gravesend on the 26th of August. The same enterprising navigator was employed the following year by the Dutch, in a voyage of which it is difficult to divine the object. He passed the North Cape on an eastward course, but afterwards returned to Newfoundland; and coasting North America, discovered the river which at present bears his name, and on which the Dutch soon after established a colony.

Hudson's character as an able and enterprising navigator was so high, as to resuscitate the hopes of those who still believed in the existence of a north-western passage. A vessel of fifty-five tons, provisioned for six months, was fitted out for the voyage, and placed under his command. On the first week of June, Hudson arrived at the entrance of Frobisher's Strait. He had long to struggle with the ice and contrary winds; but, persisting in a westerly course, he at length arrived at the north-western point of Labrador, which he named *Cape Wolstenholm*, and descried a cluster of islands to the north-west, the nearest headland of which he called *Cape Digges*. Here the land seemed to turn towards the south, and a great sea opened to view. But in this interesting part of his voyage, the narrative of Hudson himself suddenly terminates; and we are acquainted with his future proceedings only through the medium of the imperfect and doubtful relation of Abacuk Pricket, one of his mutinous crew. The discontents which ended in the destruction of this celebrated navigator began here first to show themselves. Hudson, it appears, when beset with ice, and despairing how he should proceed, showed his crew that he had already advanced above a hundred leagues farther in the strait than any preceding navigator. Afterwards proceeding to the south, he entered a bay,

which was named *Michaelmas Bay*, from the day on which it was first discovered. During three months he was involved in a labyrinth of islands and intricate channels. But on the 1st of November they hauled the ship aground, and ten days after were frozen in.

Hudson, it appears, had charitably taken under his protection a young man of the name of Green, of respectable connections but profligate manners; and had carried him to sea, to serve in the capacity of clerk. The want of provisions soon produced discontents, which this young man ungratefully inflamed to the destruction of his benefactor. At the commencement of winter, the white partridges were in such abundance that little suffering was experienced from actual want of food; but these were succeeded by geese, ducks, swans, and other fowls more difficult to surprise; and the men were at length reduced to feed on moss and frogs. On the breaking up of the ice in spring, fish were taken, at first in large quantities. But this resource also soon disappeared. At length Hudson made preparations to leave the bay; and with tears in his eyes distributed to the crew the stock of provisions that remained, and which was barely sufficient for fourteen days. On the 21st of June the conspiracy broke out. Green and his associates had secretly resolved to turn the master and the sick men adrift, and to share the provisions among the remainder. The following oath was administered to each of the conspirators:—"You shall swear truth to God, your prince, and country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." Immediately after, Hudson was seized and bound, and was lowered with the sick and lame men, nine persons in all, into the boat. A fowling-piece, some ammunition, a small quantity of meal, and an iron pot, were all that was allowed them. The tow-rope was then cut, and the boat turned adrift among the floating ice, in a situation which it is painful to contemplate. When the boat was out of sight, the mutineers began to feel some misgivings as to the course which

they should pursue. They feared to return to England; and Green, who was shortly after elected captain, vowed that he would keep the sea till he had the king's seal to show for his safety. In an island near Cape Digges, however, Green was killed in a quarrel with the savages. The survivors, now reduced to desperate extremities, endeavoured to shape their course for Ireland. Their scanty supply of wild fowl was soon consumed; and they were compelled at last to eat their candles, and to fry the skins and crushed bones of the fowls, which, with a little vinegar, is stated to have made "a good dish of meate." In this part of the voyage, Robert Ivet, the chief of the mutineers after Green, expired from absolute want. They at length arrived in the bay of Galloway, whence they were carried in a fishing-smack to Plymouth.*

CHAP. XII.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH.

VOYAGE OF SIR THOMAS BUTTON. — REACHES THE WESTERN SHORE OF HUDSON'S BAY. — WINTERS IN NELSON'S RIVER. — HIS ABILITY AS A COMMANDER. — GIBBONS ATTEMPTS TO FOLLOW UP HIS DISCOVERIES. — VOYAGE OF BYLOT AND BAFFIN. — SKILL OF THE LATTER IN THE SCIENCE OF NAVIGATION. — THEIR SECOND VOYAGE. — INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN THEM. — DISCOVER BAFFIN'S BAY. — EXTRAORDINARY VARIATION OF THE COMPASS. — EXTENT OF THEIR NAVIGATION. — COMMENCEMENT OF THE NORTH SEA FISHERY. — VOYAGES OF STEVEN BENNET. — CHERRY ISLAND TAKEN POSSESSION OF BY THE MUSCOVY COMPANY. — WHALE FISHERY BEGINS. — VOYAGES OF JAMES POOLE. — MAYEN'S ISLAND DISCOVERED. — BAFFIN'S OBSERVATIONS. — VOYAGES OF FOX AND JAMES. — REPORTS OF CANADIAN HUNTERS. — FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT MADE IN HUDSON'S BAY. — HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY INCORPORATED. — WOOD'S VOYAGE TO NOVA ZEMBLA. — UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION OF KNIGHT TO HUDSON'S BAY. —

* Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. iii.

VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN MIDDLETON. — CONTROVERSY BETWEEN DOBBS AND MIDDLETON. — REWARD PROPOSED BY GOVERNMENT FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

THE great sea discovered by Henry Hudson to the west of Cape Wolstenholm was a new beacon lighted up, as it were, for the guidance of future discovery. The merchants of London caused an expedition to be fitted out in 1612, which they intrusted to captain (afterwards sir Thomas) Button, an able seaman, at that time in the service of the accomplished prince Henry. Pricket and Bylot, who both accompanied Henry Hudson in his last unfortunate voyage, though they might both be justly suspected of having participated in the guilt of the mutiny, yet, being recommended by their experience of the western seas, were engaged to proceed in the present voyage. The names of the vessels equipped were the same as those which sailed under the celebrated Cook in his last voyage—the Resolution and the Discovery. Button, entering Hudson's Straits, kept an undeviating westerly course, till he reached the coast of a large island, at present called Southampton Island. From this continuing to sail westward, he fell in with the main land of America in latitude 60° 40′, to which he gave the name of *Hopes Checked*. He now ran south; and when in latitude 57° 10′, on the 15th of August, entered the mouth of a river, to which he gave the name of Nelson's River, and on which was subsequently situated the chief establishment of the Hudson's Bay company. In this place he made preparations to spend the winter. Some of the crew died from the intensity of the cold. But in spring there were intervals of mild weather, of which Button took advantage to employ his company in killing game. White partridges were in such multitudes, that no less than eighteen hundred dozen are said to have been taken and consumed by the crews of the two vessels. Button, who seems to have been a person of consummate ability, did not neglect any means of supporting the spirits of his people under the depressing influence of cold and inactivity. He proposed

to them questions on the subject of navigation and discovery, so as to mingle amusement with instruction; and animated their zeal, while he kept their minds from drooping. The art of managing a crew, in which the early Spanish navigators were so deficient, and of which we have seen such an instance of unexampled skill in the recent voyages of captain Parry, appears to have been duly attended to by sir Thomas Button. In April, when the ice disappeared, he launched his vessels, and sailing northward, along the western coast of Hudson's Bay, as far as lat. 65°, he fell in with a cluster of islands, to which he gave the name of Mancel's (at present Mansfield's) Islands. After this he directed his course homeward, passing Cape Chidley; and in sixteen days reached England, in the autumn of 1613. Button was the first who reached the eastern coast of America, on the western side of Hudson's Bay. His expedition appears to have been conducted with remarkable firmness and skill; yet he never published an account of it, and even some mystery was allowed to hang over the object and the issue of his voyage. It seems surprising, that one who had acquitted himself with such ability in the difficult task of navigating unexplored seas was not again sent forth to prosecute his discoveries. The death of his patron prince Henry seems to have put a stop to his exertions. But captain Gibbons, his relation, the companion of his former voyage, proceeded, in 1614, in the Discovery, to seek the north-west passage, respecting the existence of which sir Thomas Button, it seems, entertained the most sanguine expectations. But Gibbons was so harassed throughout his voyage by boisterous winds, fogs, and floating ice, that he was unable to make any *progress*, and returned without adding any thing to geographical discovery.

Notwithstanding the numerous disappointments which had occurred in the attempts to discover a north-west passage, the visible progress of geographical knowledge, arising from the active spirit of maritime enterprise, was too great to admit of discouragement. The merchants

adventurers, who had felt the advantage of possessing a large field for their operations, were determined to persevere. In 1615, the Discovery was fitted out for a fourth voyage towards the north-west. Robert Bylot, who had frequently navigated those seas, was appointed master; and William Baffin, who wrote the account of the voyage, his mate. The crew was composed of fourteen men and two boys—so small was the force with which those difficult enterprises were undertaken. On the voyage out icebergs were seen, some of which were 240 feet above the sea, and, including the submerged portion, were calculated to be at least 1680 feet in height. William Baffin had sailed in 1612 with James Hall, in the expedition which proved so fatal to its commander, and had written an account of the voyage, which is chiefly remarkable as being the first on record in which a method is laid down for determining the longitude at sea by an observation of the heavenly bodies.* And it is evident, from the rules proposed, that Baffin possessed a considerable degree of knowledge of the theory as well as practice of navigation. In this voyage with Bylot, Baffin continued to exercise his scientific acquirements. In the neighbourhood of Resolution Island he saw the sun and moon at the same time, and availed himself of this circumstance to make an observation for the longitude. He observes, with much justice, "if observations of this kinde or some other were made at places far remote, as at the Cape Bona Speranza, Bantam, Japan, Nova Albion, and Magellan's Straits, I suppose we should have a truer geography than we have." Our navigators, observing the tide to flow from the northward, were at one time confident of success. But as they advanced within the inlets which flattered their hopes, the shoaliness of the water soon undeceived them; and after running great risks from the floating ice, they passed Resolution Island in the beginning of August, and reached England in a month without the loss of a man.

* Barrow, p. 201.

The merits of Baffin as a skilful navigator were too conspicuous to allow him to remain unemployed. His numerous observations supplied philosophers with the materials of speculation, and compensated, in some degree, the absence of geographical discoveries. The same company of merchants who had equipped the preceding expedition again fitted out the little bark, the Discovery, for her fifth voyage in search of a north-west passage. Robert Bylot was again appointed master, and William Baffin pilot. The following clear and well-digested instructions for their voyage were probably drawn up without consulting the latter, who seems never to have relished this voyage.

"For your course you must make all possible haste to the Cape Desolation; and from thence, you, William Baffin, as pilot, keep along the coast of Greenland, and up *Fretum Davis*, until you come toward the height of 80°, if the land will give you leave. Then, for feare of inbaying by keeping too northerly a course, shape your course west and southerly so farre as you shall think it convenient, till you come to the latitude of 60°; then direct your course to fall in with the land of Yedzo, about that height, leaving your farther sayling southward to your owne discretion, according as the time of the year and the windes will give you leave. Although our desires be, if your voyage prove so prosperous that you may have the year before you, that you go so farre southerly as that you may touch the north part of Japan, from whence or from Yedzo, if you can so compasse it without danger, we would have you to bring home one of the men of the countrey; and so, God blessing you with all expedition, to make your return home againe."*

The Discovery sailed from Gravesend on the 26th of March, 1616, with seventeen persons on board. Running northward in Davis's Straits, they anchored in a sound in lat. 70° 20′. The natives fled from them, leaving their dogs behind. The rise of the tide here was only eight or nine feet,—a circumstance which Baffin

* Purchas, vol. iii.

looked upon as a presage of disappointment. The inhabitants of this coast were wretchedly poor, living on seals' flesh, which they devoured raw. They were supposed by our voyagers to worship the sun, pointing constantly to it, and stroking their breasts, while they called out at the same time, *Ilyout!* But, perhaps, the true meaning of these gestures was, that their visiters were men who had come from that luminary. As the ice was now disappearing, Baffin persisted in a northerly course; but the weather was occasionally dreadfully cold; and on Midsummer day the sails and ropes were frozen so hard that they could scarcely be handled. In lat. 75° 40′ the ice disappeared, and the prospect of an open sea again revived the hopes of a passage. Stormy weather forced them into a sound, in which there were so many whales that they named it *Whale Sound.* To another spacious inlet, running to the north of 78°, they gave the name of *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound;* and an island near it was called *Hakluyt's Island.* "This sound," says Baffin, "is admirable in one respect, because in it is the greatest variation in the compass of any part of the world known; for, by divers good observations, I found it to be above five points or 56° varied to the westward." They now stood to the south-westward in an open sea, and with a stiff gale, till they made land near the entrance of a sound which they named *Alderman Jones's Sound.* Still proceeding westward, they found again in 74° 40′ another great opening, which they called *Sir James Lancaster's Sound.* The hope of a passage was now greatly diminished; the shore was unapproachable from the ice, which seemed to thicken towards the south. They sailed along this barrier, however, till they came down to 65° 40′, near the opening of Cumberland's Strait. Here, there remained no longer any hope of a western passage; and as the men were sickly, they stood across for the coast of Greenland, where, making salads of scurvy-grass, sorrel, and orpen, the crew soon recovered. They left this harbour on the 6th of August, and anchored safely at Plymouth on the 13th of the same month; "for the

which," says Baffin, "and all other his blessings, the Lord make us thankfull." This voyage, in which Baffin discovered the sea which now bears his name, and had advanced so many degrees beyond any preceding navigator, is not described by him with his usual minuteness and copiousness of detail. So few geographical points were settled in the published account of his navigation, that "Baffin's Bay" was for a long time drawn in the charts almost from the fancy of the artist. The meagreness of his narrative, indeed, and the deficiency of particulars, are in some measure attributable to Purchas, who says "that Baffin's map, with the tables of his journal and sailing, were somewhat troublesome, and too costly to insert." *

Mercantile enterprise did not fail to take advantage of the enlargement of geographical information. The voyages into the arctic seas, though they failed in discovering a passage to the Indies, laid the foundation of several lucrative branches of trade. So early as the year 1603, Steven Bennet sailed with a small vessel, fitted out by the "worshipful Francis Cherie," to Cola on the northern coast of Lapland, with instructions to dispose of the cargo in that place, and afterwards to proceed on discovery. Bennet sailed north from Cola till he found an island, on which he saw foxes, but no inhabitants. He determined its latitude to be 74° 30′, and gave it the name of *Cherry Island*, which it still retains; though it is the same which Barentz had discovered and named Bear Island several years before. Bennet returned to Cherry Island the following year, and found it covered with a multitude of fowls and morses. The teeth of the latter were a valuable article of trade; and his crew endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to take a cargo of them. They blew out the eyes of the morses with small shot, and then attacked the blind animals with hatchets. But this cruel proceeding was of little avail; and of a thousand they killed but fifteen. The next year another voyage was made to Cherry Island by the same owners; and they

* Purchas, vol. iii.

had improved so far in the art of taking the walrus, that they succeeded not only in procuring a cargo of the teeth, but also in boiling the blubber into oil. They at the same time discovered a lead mine, and brought home with them a small quantity of the ore. This trade rapidly improved. When Bennet visited the island in 1606, he collected, in a fortnight, three hogsheads of teeth and twenty-two tons of oil. His employers again proceeded with him to Cherry Island in 1608; and in the space of seven hours they killed nearly a thousand morses. A couple of these animals were brought home, and the male was exhibited to the court, "where the king and many honourable personages beheld it with admiration for the strangeness of the same, the like whereof had never before been seen in England. Not long after, it fell sick and died. As the beast in shape is very strange, so it is of strange docility, and apt to be taught, as by good experience we often proved." The weather in Cherry Island at the end of June is said to be calm and clear, and as warm as it usually is in England at the same season. The pitch ran down the ship's sides, and the tar exuded from the sides of the mast that faced the sun. These profitable voyages could not fail to catch the attention of monopolists; and formal possession was taken of Cherry Island in 1609, in the name of the Muscovy company. Multitudes of foxes were now seen; several bears were killed; three lead mines discovered; and, what is remarkable, five ships happened to meet here at the same time, whose united crews amounted to 182 men, all engaged in lading with furs, oil, and walrus' teeth. The Muscovy company, having taken possession of Cherry Island, despatched a small vessel towards the north pole in 1610, for the double purpose of trade and discovery. Jonas Poole, who had been on all the former voyages, was appointed master. He advanced beyond 78°; and repeats emphatically an important observation which had been made by preceding navigators, that the climate in the open sea, towards the pole, is much more temperate than in lower

latitudes. "A passage," he says, "may be as soon attained this way by the pole as any unknown way whatsoever, by reason the sun doth give a great heat in this climate, and the ice that freezeth here is nothing so huge as I have seen in 73°." Poole did not reach beyond 79° 50′ in this voyage, which was intended not only as an experiment to "catch a whale or two," and to kill walruses, but also for northern discovery. This is manifest from the tenour of his instructions, which are conceived in the following terms:—"Inasmuch as it hath pleased Almightie God, through the industry of yourselfe and others, to discover unto our nation a land lying in eightie degrees toward the north pole; we are desirous not only to discover farther to the northward along the said land, to find whether the same be an island or a mayne, and which way the same doth trend, either to the eastward or to the westward of the pole; as also whether the same be inhabited by any people, or whether there be an open sea farther north than hath been already discovered," &c. *

Jonas Poole sailed again in 1611, in company with the first ship despatched from England for the express purpose of killing the whale: six Biscayans, accustomed to that business, were added to the crew. While this ship was engaged in fishing, Poole proceeded as far northward as 80°, near Spitzbergen, and then crossing westward, ran along the eastern shore of Greenland, forty leagues beyond the most northern point laid down in the charts. In the same year, Jan Mayen, the commander of a Dutch whaler, discovered to the north of Iceland the island which still bears his name, and which was for many years a fishing station for the Dutch, where they boiled their blubber, till it became unapproachable by the accumulation of ice. So rapid was the improvement made, chiefly by the assistance of the Biscayans, in the art of killing whales, that Poole's ship alone this voyage took no fewer than thirteen: and in the year 1613, above twenty ships — French, Dutch,

* Purchas, vol. iii.

Spanish, and Biscayan—besides six from England, were assembled together in the sea of Spitzbergen; one of the English ships was commanded by the celebrated navigator William Baffin.

The English, having taken possession of Spitzbergen in the name of his majesty, prohibited the ships of other nations from fishing there. It was expected that the foreign fishermen would resist this order, but they quietly submitted to the usurped authority of the English. In this voyage the observant Baffin remarked the extraordinary refraction of the atmosphere in northern latitudes, and determined its quantity at the horizon to be twenty-six minutes; and he philosophically adds, "I suppose the refraction is more or lesse according as the air is thick or clear, which I leave for better scholars to discuss." He did not despair of the probability of a passage by the pole, relying on the existence of a spacious sea between Greenland and Spitzbergen; and he recommended the Muscovy company to expend annually 150*l.* or 200*l.* in exploring the northern seas, —a task which he thinks might be adequately performed by a little pinnace, with a crew of only ten men.

The great success of the northern fisheries again roused the Danes into action. In 1619, two ships, chiefly manned by English seamen, and commanded by Jan Munk, were fitted out on a voyage of discovery, with the intention of pursuing the tracks of Hudson and of Baffin. The ice prevented Munk from running along the western coast of Greenland: he consequently steered for Hudson's Strait; and finding the coast of America in 63° 20′, he took shelter in a harbour (perhaps the Chesterfield Inlet of our maps) to which he gave the name of Munk's Winter Harbour. The surrounding country he named New Denmark. He entered this harbour on the 7th of September; and as it was evidently impossible to cross Hudson's Bay at this late season, he began to build huts, and to search the neighbouring country for game and fuel. His crews amounted in all to sixty-four men; but when the rigour of the winter prevented them from

exercising, and compelled them to live on salted provisions, they became afflicted with the scurvy. When the spring approached, their bread was consumed; and though game was in abundance, they had not sufficient strength and activity to take it. Their condition was now most deplorable; famine was added to disease. Long comfortless, they were now without hope, and died rapidly: Munk remained alone in a little hut, in so dejected a state as to expect nothing but death. Hunger at length compelled him to crawl forth and seek his companions; but of these he found only two alive—the rest had all perished. The three survivors encouraged each other in their efforts to procure food. They dug under the snow for herbs and roots; they took fish; and, as their strength returned, caught birds and other animals. At length they had the resolution to equip the smaller of their two vessels. They put to sea, and after a stormy passage, in which the ship was almost abandoned to herself, they arrived safely in a port in Norway. The return of these men was looked upon, and justly, as little short of a miracle. That three men surviving alone of the company of sixty-four, after enduring all the miseries of an arctic winter, should recover by feeding upon grass and the coarsest herbs, should collect provisions for their voyage, and bring home one of their ships in safety, is a narrative which almost exceeds the bounds of credibility.

The severities of the climate, perhaps, rather than the dangers of a sea beset with ice, deterred navigators from the prosecution of voyages to the north-west. But, indeed, the voyage of Baffin in 1616 seemed so conclusive against the existence of a passage round the north of the American continent, as greatly to discourage future exertions in that quarter. In consequence, many years elapsed without any further attempts being made to follow up those ungrateful researches, until in 1631 captain Luke Fox, who, he says, "had been itching after northern discovery ever since 1606, when he wished to have gone as mate to John Knight," obtained from the

king the loan of one of his ships for the proposed voyage. On taking leave, he received from the king a map of all his predecessor's discoveries, his majesty's instructions, and a letter to the emperor of Japan.

Fox was a bold man, but inordinately self-conceited; and this failing appears conspicuously in the florid account which he has given of his expedition. Yet he warns "the gentle reader not to expect here any flourishing phrases or eloquent terms; for this child of mine, begot in the north-west's cold clime, where they breed no scholars, is not able to digest the sweet milk of rhetoric."* In Hudson's Strait, Fox was much hampered with ice, the masses of which nevertheless he affirms "were seldom bigger than a great church." At Salisbury Island, he observes that the needle becomes sluggish or insensible, — a phenomenon which he ascribes "to the sharpness of the air interposed between the needle and his attractive point." To an island on the eastern coast of America he gave the name of Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome: here he found the burying-place of the natives; and with the bodies were deposited bows, arrows, and darts, many of which were headed with iron, and one with copper; whence it was concluded that Europeans had been there before. At Nelson's River he found a cross which had been erected there by sir Thomas Button. Fox returned to England on the last day of October, "not having lost one man nor boy, nor any manner of tackling, having been forth near six months, all glory be to God." He was evidently dissatisfied with the issue of his voyage, and continued firmly to maintain the probability of a north-west passage, which he thought might be found in Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, where the tide was observed to come from the northward, and where the multitude of the whales seemed to indicate the proximity of a great sea. While Fox was preparing to embark in this enterprise, the merchants of Bristol, determined to contest with London the praise of maritime activity, despatched captain Thomas James with like instructions,

* North West Fox. 1635.

and furnished by the king with similar credentials. But James was probably much less able, and certainly less fortunate, than Fox. His ship suffered much in Hudson's Bay from ice and boisterous winds: "For the sea," he says, "so continually over-reached us, that we were like Jonas in the whale's belly." As his ignorance of the art of navigating among ice kept him in continual embarrassment, he could not venture to cross Hudson's Bay at the commencement of winter, and preferred remaining on an island now called Charlton Island, lying in latitude 52°. A hut was built for the sick, and covered with the main sail. These poor men had to endure the usual miseries of an arctic winter. Their wine, vinegar, oil, and every thing else that was liquid, were frozen as hard as wood, so that they were obliged to cut them with a hatchet. In February the scurvy began to make its appearance among the crew, and it was not till July that they could get the ship ready for their homeward voyage. James was evidently an unskilful navigator; and if not actually timid, was at least well disposed to magnify difficulties. He was one of the few who maintained the improbability of a north-west passage; and his opinion had less weight, as it was contradicted by those who displayed far more sagacity and skill in the conduct of a similar enterprise.

The voyages to Hudson's Bay, although they did not disprove the existence of a north-west passage, were not calculated to raise sanguine expectations of finding it in that quarter. Besides, the difficulties of the navigation and the hardships arising from the climate gave navigators a disinclination to proceed thither. The English had almost forgotten Hudson's Bay, when an accident again drew their attention towards it; and it became the object of commercial, when it ceased to awaken geographical interest.

The French settlers in Canada, in their travels through the interior in search of peltry, at length arrived on the shores of Hudson's Bay. One of these adventurers, named Grosseliez, having visited that coast, conceived

that it possessed great advantages for the prosecution of the fur trade. He proceeded to France and laid his representations before government. He met, however, with no encouragement from the French ministers; but the English ambassador at Paris listened to him with attention, and gave him a letter to prince Rupert, with which he came over to England. Here he was favourably received, and immediately engaged to go out in one of his majesty's ships; not merely to make a settlement in Hudson's Bay, but also to seek again for the passage to China by the north-west. Respecting this projected voyage, Mr. Oldenburgh, the first secretary to the Royal Society, writes in the following terms to the celebrated Mr. Boyle: — "Surely I need not tell you from hence what is said here with great joy of the discovery of a north-west passage made by two English and one Frenchman, lately represented by them to his majesty at Oxford, and answered by the royal grant of a vessel to sail into Hudson's Bay, and thence into the South Sea; these men affirming, as I heard, that with a boat they went out of a lake in Canada into a river which discharged itself north-west into the South Sea, into which they went, and returned north-east into Hudson's Bay."

Captain Zachariah Gillam was appointed to carry out Grosseliez to Hudson's Bay, and to prosecute the north-western discoveries. Gillam wintered at Rupert's River, considerably to the north of Charlton Island, yet does not complain of the severity and long continuance of the cold, from which James's company suffered so much. At this place captain Gillam laid the foundation of the first English settlement, by building a small stone fort, to which he gave the name of Fort Charles. The king, who had encouraged the expedition, continued to favour the adventurers "in consideration of their having undertaken, at their own costs and charges, an expedition to Hudson's Bay for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade in furs, minerals, and other commodities, whereby great advantage might probably arise to the king and his do-

minions. His majesty, for the better promoting their endeavours for the good of his people, was pleased to confer on them exclusively all the lands and territories in Hudson's Bay, together with all the trade thereof, and all others which they should acquire," &c. This extraordinary charter, with its sweeping exclusive privileges, which was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1669, continues without abridgment to the present day. Though discovery was among the ostensible objects of this charter, the indolence of monopoly prevailed, and for some time the north-west passage seems wholly to have been forgotten.

In the mean time, however, the hope of a north-east passage to China was revived by the writings of Joseph Moxon, a fellow of the Royal Society. Besides the speculative arguments adduced by this gentleman in support of his opinion, he relates that he received an account from the pilot of a Greenland ship that he had sailed to the north pole: "whereupon his relation being novel to me, I entered into discourse with him, and seemed to question the truth of what he said; but he did assure me that it was true, and that the ship was then at Amsterdam, and many of the seamen belonging to her could justify the truth of it; and told me, moreover, that they had sailed two degrees beyond the pole. I asked him if they found no land or islands about the pole? He replied, 'No; it was a free and open sea.' I asked him if they did not meet with a great deal of ice? He said, 'No; they saw no ice.' I asked him what weather they had there? He told me fine warm weather, such as was at Amsterdam in the summer time, and as hot." *

Hope once more awakened, enterprise was sure to follow. Captain John Wood, an active and experienced seaman, who had accompanied sir John Narborough in his voyage to the South Sea, presented a memorial to the king, in which he strongly supported the existence of a north-east passage. His arguments met with atten-

* A Brief Discourse, by Joseph Moxon, F.R.S. 1675.

tion; and two vessels, the Speedwell and Prosperous, were equipped for the expedition. They were victualled for sixteen months, and stored with such merchandise as was thought most likely to turn to account on the coast of Tartary and Japan. Wood sailed in 1676, holding a good course to the north, desiring to keep as far as possible from land; but at length finding the sea covered with ice before him, he had no choice but to run north-west, and thus seemingly retreat from the object of his destination, or else to approach the land by holding a south-eastern course. Towards the end of June he saw the western coast of Nova Zembla; but soon after, his vessel struck on a ridge of rocks and went entirely to pieces. Wood and his crew were saved in the smaller vessel; but after this misfortune all thoughts of prosecuting the voyage were at an end. Wood suffered his chagrin to overcome his candour; and though he had advocated by many ingenious arguments the existence of a north-east passage, yet on the loss of his ship he changed his opinion, and disingenuously criticised the accounts of preceding navigators.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century Mr. Knight, governor of the factory established by the Hudson's Bay company on Nelson's River, learned from the native Indians, that at some distance to the northward, and on the banks of a navigable river or inlet, there was a rich mine of native copper. He immediately applied to the company for ships to discover this rich mine. His representations, however, met with no attention, and he was obliged to remind the company that they were bound by their charter to make discoveries; and he threatened to call on government to enforce that condition before they would comply. Two ships were at length fitted out for the expedition, the sole direction of which was entrusted to him; and he sailed in 1719, "by God's permission, to find out the Straits of Anian, in order to discover gold and other valuable commodities to the northward." These ships never returned; and many years elapsed before any thing was known respect-

ing the fate of the unhappy crews. A vessel, indeed, was despatched in 1722, from Churchill River, in Hudson's Bay, under the command of captain Scroggs, in search of the preceding expedition. But the narrative of his voyage makes no allusion to those enquiries which ought to have been his principal object. He brought back, however, a confirmation of the reports respecting the existence of a copper mine. "He had seen two northern Indians, who told him of a rich copper mine somewhere in that country, upon the shore, near the surface of the earth; and they could direct the sloop so near it as to lay her side to it, and be soon loaded with it. They had brought some pieces of copper from it to Churchill, that made it evident there was a mine thereabouts. They had sketched out the country with charcoal before they left Churchill, and so far as they went it agreed very well." *

Nothing was learned respecting the melancholy fate of Knight and his companions till the summer of 1769, when Mr. Hearne collected from the Esquimaux in the neighbourhood of Marble Island the following account:—"When the vessels arrived at this place (Marble Island) it was very late in the fall, and in getting them into the harbour the largest received much damage; but on being fairly in, the English began to build the house, their number at that time seeming to be about fifty. As soon as the ice permitted in the following summer, 1720, the Esquimaux paid them another visit; by which time the number of the English was very greatly reduced, and those that were living seemed very unhealthy. According to the account given by the Esquimaux, they were then very busily employed, but about what they could not easily describe; probably in lengthening the long boat, for at a little distance from the house there was now lying a great quantity of oak chips, which had been made most assuredly by carpenters.

"A sickness and famine occasioned such havock

* Account of the Countries adjoining Hudson's Bay. By Arthur Dobbs, Esq.

among the English, that by the setting in of the second winter their number was reduced to twenty. That winter, 1720, some of the Esquimaux took up their abode on the opposite side of the harbour to that on which the English had built their houses, and frequently supplied them with such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted of whales' blubber, and seals' flesh, and train oil. When the spring advanced, the Esquimaux went to the continent; and on their visiting Marble Island again, in the summer of 1721, they only found five of the English alive, and those were in such distress for provisions that they eagerly ate the seals' flesh, and whales' blubber quite raw as they purchased it from the natives. This disordered them so much, that three of them died in a few days; and the other two, though very weak, made a shift to bury them. Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, and earnestly looked to the south and east as if in expectation of some vessels coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted, that he fell down and died also in attempting to dig a grave for his companion. The skulls and other large bones of those two men are now lying above ground, close to the house. The longest liver was, according to the Esquimaux' account, always employed in working iron into implements for them; probably he was the armourer or smith." *

* Journey from Prince of Wales Fort, &c. by Samuel Hearne.

CHAP. XIII.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

JOURNEY OF JENKINSON TO BOKHARA. — DESCRIPTION OF ASTRACAN. — TIMUR SULTAN. — MANNERS OF THE TURKMANS. — BLADEBONE DIVINATION. — BOKHARA. — TRADE OF THE CASPIAN. — TRADE OF VENICE WITH THE EAST. — THE ENGLISH ENGAGE IN THE LEVANT TRADE. — JOURNEY OF FITCH AND NEWBERY TO INDIA. — FIRST VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO INDIA BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — UNFORTUNATE RESULT. EAST INDIA COMPANY INCORPORATED. — SUCCESSFUL VOYAGE OF LANCASTER. — MIDDLETON SAILS TO THE MOLUCCAS. — AN AMBASSADOR SENT TO THE GREAT MOGUL. — EAST INDIA TRADE OF THE DUTCH. — THEY SUPPLANT THE PORTUGUESE IN JAPAN. — VANDERHAGEN'S EXPEDITION. — ADVENTURES OF WILLIAM ADAMS. — HE BUILDS A SHIP FOR THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN. — HIS INTEREST AT COURT. — NOT ALLOWED TO DEPART. — FAVOURS THE DUTCH. — HIS LETTER. — CAPTAIN SARIS ARRIVES AT JAPAN. — HIS DESCRIPTION OF THAT COUNTRY. — THE EMPEROR'S LETTER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND. — TERMINATION OF THE ENGLISH TRADE WITH JAPAN. — DUTCHMEN WRECKED ON COREA. — THEIR ADVENTURES. — ESCAPE. — THEIR DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY. — VOYAGES OF THE FRENCH TO THE EAST. — PIRARD DE LAVAL WRECKED ON THE MALDIVES. — HIS ACCOUNT OF THOSE ISLANDS. — HIS DREAM AND FORTUNATE LIBERATION.

THE success of Chancelor's mission to Moscow diverted the attention of the merchant adventurers for a time from seeking a passage to the Indian seas. But a better acquaintance with the newly discovered country, Russia, tended to inflame that ardour in the pursuit of eastern commerce which it had for a moment allayed. It was found that the Russians carried on a lucrative trade with Persia and Bokhara; and it was determined to turn to advantage the favour with which the English were received at the court of Moscow, and to trace the commercial routes of the interior of Asia. For this purpose Mr. Anthony Jenkinson was selected; a resolute and

intelligent gentleman, well acquainted with Muscovy, to which country he had made several journeys, and where he afterwards appeared in the quality of ambassador from queen Elizabeth.

Jenkinson departed from Moscow in April, 1558. The country between the Volga and the Caspian he found desolate and depopulated: the inhabitants, to the number of a hundred thousand, were in that year destroyed by civil war, pestilence, and famine, to the great satisfaction, he observes, of the Russians. The city of Astracan appeared to him neither strong nor handsome. The ramparts were built of earth: all the houses, except the governor's, were of the meanest description. The only food was fish, especially sturgeon: these were hung up in their streets and houses to dry. The air was in consequence infected, and the myriads of flies that swarmed round the putrefying fishes were insupportable. The distress among the Nogay Tatars in the neighbourhood was so great, that they offered their children for sale, and Jenkinson could have bought thousands of them for a small loaf of bread apiece. Merchants resorted to Astracan in great numbers; but the commodities in which they trafficked were bought in such small quantities as to excite the contempt of our English traveller, who concludes "that there is no hope of a trade in those parts worth following."

On the 6th of August, Jenkinson embarked with his merchandise on the Volga, in company with some Persians and Tatars, to enter the Caspian sea, being obliged to take upon himself the care of the navigation. In four days he entered the Caspian; and nine days after passed the mouth of the river Jaik, on which, he tells us, is situated the town of Serachik, the capital of the greatest of the Nogay princes. But he adds, "There is no trade in this country; the natives having no money but cattle, and living by robbery." He soon became acquainted with their propensity to pillage; for, the day after he passed the river, while the greater part of his crew were on shore, a boat containing thirty armed

men came alongside of his bark, intending to make a prize of her. But one of Jenkinson's companions, a Mahometan saint, by prayers and oaths dissuaded them from their purpose. They assured him that they came only to see whether there were any Russians or other unbelievers in the vessel; and as he swore lustily that there were none, they departed. In three weeks they arrived at the port of Manguslave, on the south-eastern side of the Caspian. They were no sooner landed, than they experienced to the fullest extent the dishonest and rapacious tempers of the persons with whom they came to deal.

Our merchants departed with a caravan of a thousand camels; and in five days came to the dominions of Timour Sultan, whose officers proceeded very unceremoniously to levy a large and arbitrary duty on the merchandise. Jenkinson, in consequence, hastened to the sultan himself, who received him kindly, and regaled him with the flesh of a wild horse and mare's milk. If he had not thus thrown himself on the hospitality of this Tatar prince, who was a noted robber, he would in all probability have been his victim. The sultan lived in the fields, without a town or castle. Jenkinson found him sitting in a small round house, built of reeds, covered with felt, and hung with carpets. The merchants, proceeding on their journey, travelled twenty days through the desert without seeing a house or habitation. Their provisions failing, they were forced to feed on their cattle. Jenkinson himself was obliged to kill a camel and a horse. There were no rivers; and the wells were few in number, deep, and scantily supplied with brackish water. In the city of Urjenz they remained a month; and here again we are informed that the trade which is carried on by merchants from Persia and Bokhara "is not worth speaking of." The manners and civilisation of the country which he had passed through are thus summarily described by our author:—"All the country from the Caspian sea hither is called the Land of Turkman. The people dwell in tents, roving in great companies with

their camels, horses, and sheep; which last are large, and have tails weighing sixty or eighty pounds. Many of the sheep as well as horses are wild, and are taken by means of hawks, who worry them till they are no longer able to run. The khan and his five brothers rule the whole country. Each is king in his own territory, and seeks to destroy the rest, as they are born of different mothers, and are commonly the children of slaves. When these brothers are at war, which is commonly the case, he who is vanquished flies to the desert, and there robs travellers and caravans till he can gather strength to take the field again."

Leaving Urjenz, our merchants travelled a hundred miles along the banks of the Oxus, and then entered another great desert, where they were attacked by a formidable band of robbers, sent against them, as they suspected, by the very prince whose protection they had just paid for. Here Jenkinson witnessed the Tatar mode of divination, which is still in vogue on the shores of the Black Sea. An old pilgrim killed a sheep; and burning the blade-bone, mixed the ashes with the blood, and then wrote certain mystic characters, from which he pretended to discover that they should be attacked by robbers and should vanquish them. This prediction proved true, and justified the sagacity of the pilgrim.

The city of Bokhara, our author informs us, is of great extent, inclosed with a great wall of earth. But of its trade and riches he seems to have formed a very low estimation. Bad government and religious warfare were the causes of its poverty. The Tatars and the Persians were continually at variance about certain articles of faith, and particularly because the latter obstinately refused to shave the upper lip.

While Jenkinson was in Bokhara, caravans arrived there from India, Persia, Balkh, and Russia. But he again observes, "that the merchants are so poor, and bring so few wares, that there is no hope of any trade worth following." The trade with Cathay had been obstructed for three years by the wars of Tashkend and

Cashgar. Similar impediments existed on the side of Persia, and prevented our author from executing his purpose of examining into the trade of that country; "although," he says, "he had learned enough at Astracan and Bokhara to perceive that it is not much better than among the Tatars."

In March, 1559, the English left Bokhara, to return home in company with a caravan of 600 camels; and in ten days after, the city was besieged by the king of Samarcand. On their arrival at the Caspian, they found that their ship had been stripped of all her rigging by the roving Tatars. Jenkinson, however, contrived to refit her, and to proceed on his voyage. Of the Caspian he remarks, "that the fewness of the ships, the want of towns and harbours, the poverty of the people, and the ice, rendered the trade good for nothing." He arrived at Moscow on the 2d of September; and shortly after appearing before the emperor, kissed his hand, presented him a white cow's tail of Cathay and a Tatarian drum. He also introduced the Tatar ambassador who had accompanied him, and the Russian slaves whom he had redeemed. He was allowed to dine in the presence of the emperor, who honoured him so far as to send him meat from his own table by a duke. Jenkinson's narrative contributed much to the improvement of geography, as he observed the latitudes of the chief places through which he passed; and his description of the Caspian reduced considerably the excessive breadth from east to west assigned to that sea by Ptolemy and his followers. The English who had accompanied him had also collected itineraries of the route to Cathay, which they learned to be a nine months' journey, together with many particulars concerning the internal trade of Asia.

The result of Jenkinson's journey was extremely unfavourable to the hope of establishing a lucrative commerce in the East through the channels laid open by the friendly disposition of the czar of Muscovy. England was still chiefly supplied with Indian produce by the Venetians, who still carried on the trade by the Red

Sea and Alexandria, as they had been used to do, with greater profit, before the passage by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered. It is probable that the competition of the Portuguese diminished their profits even in this country: and the negotiations entered into by Elizabeth with the grand seignor put an end to their carrying trade altogether. The last of the Venetian argosies that visited this country, a great vessel of 1100 tons, was wrecked on the Needles at the Isle of Wight, in 1587, and all the crew and passengers perished except seven persons. After this the English themselves took an active share in the Levant trade; enjoying in the ports of Turkey the same privileges which had before been exclusively held by the Venetians. This step towards a trade with the East was accompanied by other measures calculated to improve our acquaintance with the eastern marts.

Mr. Ralph Fitch, Mr. John Newbery, and two others, were despatched, in 1583, by some merchants of London, in order that they might extend the trade which the English merchants had recently acquired in the Levant; and proceeding by Aleppo, Bagdad, and Bussorah, to Ormuz and Goa, they might procure the commodities of India as nearly as possible at first hand. In the prospect of their being able to penetrate into India, and even into China, Newbery was furnished with letters of credence or recommendation from queen Elizabeth to Zelabdim Echebar (Saladin Akbar or Akbar Shah, emperor of the Mogul conquerors of Hindostan), who is styled king of Cambaia, and also to the emperor of China. These travellers are said to have visited Ceylon, Malacca, Pegu, and Siam, along with Hindostan. But though there is no doubt that they proceeded to India, there is much reason to call in question the authenticity of the narrative ascribed to them. The expedition failed in its intention chiefly through the jealousy of the Portuguese, by whom our travellers were thrown into prison at Ormuz. Newbery, in one of his letters, remarks, "Although we be Englishmen, I know no reason why we

may not as well trade from place to place as the natives of other countrys; for all nations may and do come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemings, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Nazarenes, Turks, Moors, Jews, and Gentiles, Persians, and Muscovites. In short, there is no nation they seek to trouble but only ours." The cause of the antipathy which the Portuguese manifested to the English is explained in the same letter, by the alarm which, our author tells us, the appearance of sir Francis Drake had created in the Indian seas.

The first attempt of the English to reach the Indies was made, as we have already seen, in the year 1527, when a ship was despatched to seek a direct passage to Cathay by the north pole. The English at that time did not feel themselves competent to cope with the naval strength of Portugal; and were desirous, in consequence, of finding some passage by which they could reach the East without encountering the fleets of their jealous rivals. But all the attempts to find a passage by the north proved unsuccessful; and, on the other hand, the voyages of Drake and Candish showed how little the English had to fear from the maritime superiority of any nation. They may be truly said to have opened the route to the East. The English nation, rapidly increasing in resources, and taught by recent political events to know its strength, resolved to share in the profits of that trade to which its enemies arrogantly pretended an exclusive right. In 1591 three ships were fitted out for a voyage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope—the first which the English had as yet attempted by that route. The object of the expedition was not to carry on trade, but to cruise on the Portuguese. Its issue however, was in the highest degree unfortunate. One of the ships was obliged to return from the Cape of Good Hope with the sick men of the fleet, who were very numerous: another was lost, with all her crew, about sixty leagues beyond the Cape: the third, commanded by captain James Lancaster, reached

the East Indies in a shattered plight; and, on her return home, being forced by stress of weather to the West Indies, was there cast away; and Lancaster, with only seven of his companions remaining, was compelled to return home in a French privateer. All these disasters, however, did not discourage the English merchants, who knew that success is rarely had without perseverance. English seamen and merchants, in great numbers, had visited the East in foreign vessels, and agreed in representing it as an easy matter to establish factories and carry on a lucrative trade in the Indies. The chief merchants of London were resolutely bent on accomplishing this end; and they found no difficulty in obtaining from queen Elizabeth a charter, dated the 31st of December, 1600, by which they were incorporated as "The governour and company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies." This charter was exclusive, the queen binding herself not to grant a charter to any other merchants for a space of fifteen years. The newly established company despatched five ships in May, 1601, under the command of Lancaster, with cargoes valued at 27,000*l*. This voyage had a fortunate termination: the admiral, as Lancaster was styled, concluded a treaty with the king of Achem, sent a pinnace to the Moluccas, established a factory in the island of Java, and returned safely to England, having realised a handsome profit on the adventure. In 1604, sir Henry Middleton visited the Moluccas, where he was well received by the native princes, notwithstanding the rumours spread by the Dutch to his disadvantage. The voyage of captain Keeling, in 1607, deserves to be mentioned for the circumstance that he did not lose a single man in the voyage out and home. This fleet also carried out captain William Hawkins, our first ambassador to the Great Mogul, by whose prudent management a friendly intercourse was established between the two courts.

The Dutch East India trade commenced nearly about the same time as that of the English; but it acquired

strength sooner, and shot up with more wonderful rapidity. In the years 1613 and 1614 the Dutch had no fewer than twenty-seven large armed vessels in the Indian seas; and, notwithstanding the expensive nature of their armaments, the profits on their trade, during the twelve years preceding the last named date, averaged above thirty-seven per cent.* The English, at the commencement of their naval career, do not appear to have ever prided themselves on the use of large vessels. Indeed, the most surprising circumstance in the voyages of our early navigators is the smallness of the vessels with which they ventured to cross unknown seas, through stormy latitudes. In consequence of this predilection for small ships, (which may be traced to the constitutional freedom that leaves it to the funds and discretion of individuals to embark in enterprises which, under arbitrary governments, are reserved for the state,) the English soon became distinguished as good seamen; but their fleets seemed relatively weak. They manned and piloted the ships of foreign states, which, regarding the increase of their marine as a national object, swept the seas with more imposing forces. The Dutch soon supplanted the Portuguese in the Moluccas; and shortly after, by a singular accident, found means to extend their commerce to Japan. The annual value of this branch of trade at that time in the hands of the Portuguese was said to be worth above one million sterling. The advantages of the Japanese trade, of which the Dutch retain exclusive possession, were first obtained by them through the mediation of an Englishman.

An expedition of five ships departed from the Texel in 1598, to sail by the Straits of Magellan to Yedzo and the Moluccas. Some particulars of this attempt to circumnavigate the earth will be related in a succeeding chapter.† The pilot of the fleet was William Adams, who appears to have been long in the service of the Dutch, and who, there is reason to believe, accompanied Cornelis Ryp and Barentz, in 1596, in that voyage in

* Harris, vol. i. p. 928. † See chap. xvii.

which Spitzbergen was discovered. The voyage of the Dutch fleet to the South Sea was an unbroken series of disasters: famine was soon felt; and on reaching the Pacific Ocean the ships were dispersed by storms, and never afterwards joined company. Adams held his course for Japan, and at length had sight of the land, when only five of the crew retained strength enough to work the ship—so much were they reduced by the want of food and incessant fatigue. As soon as they had cast anchor the Japanese came on board, and stripped the ship of her cargo without loss of time. They took care, however, to supply the sea-worn mariners with food. The Portuguese, and the Jesuits in particular, alarmed at the appearance of the Dutch, hastened to represent them as outlaws and pirates; and kindled such an alarm among the people by their calumnies, that Adams and his companions began to fear crucifixion—the ordinary punishment of pirates in that country.

The emperor, however, hearing of a ship that had arrived at his dominions from the East, ordered the pilot to be brought before him. Adams accordingly, trembling for his fate, entered the imperial presence: the emperor viewed him with stedfast attention, but with a mild and gracious countenance which soon relieved Adams from the dread that he had previously felt. He put numerous questions to the pilot, by his interpreters, respecting the country from which he came, its inhabitants, manners, military force, natural productions, laws, government, and religion. Many of these questions caused Adams some embarrassment, although he seems to have been an intelligent man. But he puzzled the emperor still more when he showed him in his chart the Straits of Magellan, through which he had sailed from Europe to Japan. The emperor, who had a good opinion of him before, began now to doubt his veracity; yet, as Adams firmly persisted in maintaining the fact, and the chart seemed a sort of written testimony in his favour, the emperor was at length obliged to believe implicitly what he was unable to comprehend. He was

pleased with the conversation of Adams, whose appearance, probably, spoke that perfect probity which even his enemies allowed to belong to his character. He gradually rose in estimation with the emperor, who turned a deaf ear to the calumnious insinuations of the Portuguese to his prejudice; and, though kept in confinement, was otherwise kindly treated.

His interest with the emperor daily increasing, he was at length freed from his imprisonment, and was allowed to visit his old comrades, who were not a little surprised to see him alive, as the Portuguese had taken care to spread a report that he had been executed long before. But he found that the ship had been wholly plundered, and all his goods and instruments gone. When this came to the emperor's ear, he ordered a strict search to be made for their recovery; and, as it proved unavailing, he gave the Dutch a large sum of money as an indemnification. He would not, however, listen to their petition to allow them to pursue their voyage and to return home; but, on the other hand, he granted them a liberal maintenance in money and provisions, with liberty to go through the country as they pleased.

After they had spent four or five years in Japan, exercising their trades in different parts of the country, the emperor sent for Adams, and commanded him to build a ship on the European model. In vain the English pilot urged that it was his business to guide a ship at sea, not to build one: but the emperor was so earnest in his demand, that he was obliged to undertake the business; and, summoning up all his ingenuity, he succeeded in building a stout vessel of eighty tons. The emperor walked the deck of this little vessel with a gratification little short of rapture, and the maker of it rose very high in his esteem. Adams had some knowledge of geometry and practical mathematics, which he taught the emperor, and was regarded by him as a luminary of the first order. His modesty and integrity, perhaps, contributed as much as his abilities to procure him the imperial favour. He at length obtained, by his steady

conduct, a complete ascendancy over the mind of the emperor, and got, to use his own expression, "the exact length of his foot." He again solicited in vain for permission to depart; but the emperor, to solace him for his absence from his native land, gave him an estate, and eighty or ninety slaves to do his rural work. He also employed Adams to sail in the vessel which he had built as far as Eddo; which, our author tells us, is as far as from London to the Lizard, or the Land's End in Cornwall. In this also the Englishman succeeded. He was next commanded to build a ship of larger size, but on the same model: and he accordingly constructed a vessel of 100 tons, which was soon afterwards employed to convey to Acapulco, in New Spain, about 350 Spaniards who had been cast away on the shores of Japan. From this circumstance it may be concluded that Adams was well acquainted with the general principles of ship-building.

At length, finding it impossible to procure leave for himself to depart, he exerted his interest at court in behalf of the Dutch captain and his mate, and finally succeeded in his efforts. The very year in which the Dutchmen were dismissed, a small vessel came to Japan from Johore, eager to glean the first fruits of the newly opened trade. To the commander of this vessel, at his departure, he gave a letter, addressed *To his unknown friends and countrymen*, desiring that it might be carried either to Limehouse, near London, or to Gillingham, in Kent, in which town it appears that he was born. In this letter he gives a superficial account of Japan, which he supposes to be about 228 leagues in length, and of still greater breadth. He commends, in strong terms, the kindness, courage, and civility of the Japanese, their love of justice, and strict administration of the law. The influence of Adams immediately obtained for the Dutch a decided preference; and the Portuguese accuse him of inspiring the Japanese with that hatred of the Jesuits which terminated in the expulsion of their nation and of Christianity from those islands.

The letter written by Adams to his friends reached Bantam about the year 1612; and in the following year an English vessel, commanded by captain John Saris, arrived at Japan. Adams exerted his influence at court expeditiously and effectually, to establish a friendly intercourse between Japan and his country. The emperor granted the English an unrestrained trade to his dominions, and accompanied this permission with presents to the king of England, and a letter, in which he observes, "I acknowledge your majesty's great bounty in sending me so undeserved a present, such as my land does not produce, and I have never seen before, which I receive, not as from a stranger, but as from your majesty, whom I esteem as myself; desiring the continuance of friendship with your highness, and that it may please you to send your subjects to any port in my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome. I applaud much their worthiness in the admirable knowledge of navigation, not being terrified with the distance of so mighty a gulf, nor greatness of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting honourable discoveries and merchandising, wherein they shall find me to further them according to their desires. I return unto your majesty a small token of my love, desiring you to accept thereof as from him who rejoiceth in your friendship."* Captain John Saris appears to have been a sensible, plain man; and his remarks on Japan are still amongst the most valuable which we have respecting that extraordinary country. He passed through several cities, as Fuecate, Osaca, Suranga, and Meaco, all which he describes to be as large as London, which, in his time, had a population of at least 550,000 souls. The river at Osaca appeared to him to be as wide as the Thames at Greenwich, and had numerous fine wooden bridges over it. Meaco was the largest city in Japan, and a place of immense trade. The streets were all regular, and the mechanics were distributed in different quarters according to their employments; for order and arrange-

* Harris, vol. i.

ment are conspicuous in all the habits of the Japanese. The great temple of Meaco appeared to be as long as St. Paul's, and not inferior to it in height. Long rows of columns, adorned with paper lanterns, which are lighted every night, conduct to the entrance of the temple. The English were kindly treated by the people, who begged of them, nevertheless, not to introduce any *padres* or priests among them; fearing, no doubt, a repetition of those religious persecutions of which the Portuguese Jesuits had been the cause.

Saris, though well pleased with the success of his voyage, does not appear to have been sanguine with respect to the profits likely to be realised by the Japanese trade. He entered with difficulty into the views of Adams regarding its future direction, as he still looked upon him merely as an English pilot, and as one disposed to over-estimate the advantages that might result from a correspondence with the country to which he had become attached. Adams died in Japan in 1631, retaining to the last the favour and esteem of the prince and people. During the revolutions which shortly after took place in Japan, the persecutions by which the Portuguese were expelled, and the contemporaneous troubles in England, the trade with Japan was unaccountably discontinued; and it is impossible to ascertain precisely the date of its cessation. But it happened that in the year 1673, some time after our commerce with Japan had been thus intermitted, an English ship arrived at that country: the captain was immediately called upon by the authorities to explain why his countrymen had ever abandoned the Japanese trade, and he of course was unable to clear up this historical difficulty. He was then asked whether Charles, the king of England, had not married the daughter of the king of Portugal: to which he could not help replying in the affirmative; and on this circumstance was chiefly grounded the emperor's peremptory refusal to admit English merchants into his dominions; and as an imperial edict in Japan is, by a maxim of state, irreversible, no explanation was allowed

to take place, and thus the Dutch remained sole masters of the trade of that country.

The most profitable trade in Japan is that which is carried on with China and the Corea; the latter country had been often conquered and over-run by the Japanese. When Saris visited these people the popular animosity against the Coreans was at its height, and no regular communication existed between the two countries. But in the year 1653, one of those accidents which have occasionally so much contributed to enlarge our knowledge of the globe made Europeans acquainted with the Corea. In that year a Dutch vessel bound to Nangasaki was wrecked on the island of *Quelpaert* or *Sehesure*, which is about twelve leagues to the south of the Corea. The Dutchmen were made prisoners by the natives, who pillaged the wreck; they were treated, however, with kindness and humanity, though never permitted to go at large. What gratified them most was the meeting with a fellow-countryman named Wettevree, a native of Ryp in Holland, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Corea in 1627, and who was now sent to them from the court, where he was liberally maintained, to serve as interpreter. The Dutch, after a captivity of some years, were forced to enter the royal life guards, and were much caressed by the nobility. But the information which we receive from them respecting the country and its institutions is by no means proportioned to the opportunities they enjoyed. After rising to this degree of favour and independence, their fortune was again chequered by the wars and commotions that agitated the country. They were a second time reduced to miserable slavery, and deemed it a favour to be allowed to beg. At length, in 1666, eight of them purchased a bark under pretence of gathering cotton in the neighbouring islands, and effected their escape to Japan, whence they returned to Holland. The Dutch describe the country of Corea as fruitful; but the cold in winter is intense, and the quantity of snow that falls so prodigious that passages are made beneath it to go from house to house. The people are

represented as pusillanimous in the extreme, ignorant, and licentious.

The French also followed the general example at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and endeavoured to seize a share of the Indian trade; but their progress was more slow and faltering than that which was made by states in which greater liberty was allowed to individual enterprise.

The first East India company established in France, in 1604, never attempted to carry into execution the objects for which it was incorporated; and the origin of the French East India trade may be dated from 1611, when the royal patents were granted to a company of merchants, who nevertheless allowed four whole years to elapse before they equipped a single vessel for the voyage. Some spirited individuals, however, of the Norman seaports, had in the mean time ventured to try their fortune in the East. In 1601, a vessel sailed from St. Malo, on board of which was Francis Pirard de Laval, a merchant of that port. This ship, it is remarkable, had an English pilot. The voyage was prosperous until they reached the Maldives, where the ship struck on a reef. Shipwreck was inevitable; and the seamen, throwing off all subordination, began to get drunk, in order, as they said, that they might render the approach of death as easy as possible. "This filled me with horror," says Pirard, "and convinced me that most sailors leave their souls and consciences ashore." They contrived, nevertheless, to reach one of the inhabited islands; and the narrative of Pirard continues to this day to be the best account we have of that remarkable archipelago. So long as the Frenchmen were thought to have money, they were compelled to buy the provisions from the natives at so high a rate that they were at length reduced to great extremities. "In the mean time," says Pirard, "I made it my business to learn their language; and, by being able to discourse with them, insinuated myself into favour with the governor of the island, who sent me to Male with recommendations to the king: and

both the king and his queens were so well pleased with my saluting them in their own tongue, and according to the customs of the country, and with the account I gave them of the things that were taken out of our ship, the manners of the French ladies, &c., that they took particular care of me in a fit of sickness that lasted for many days. In a word, I rose by the king's favour and bounty to a competency; and having, by virtue of a long stay in the country, an opportunity to inspect their constitutions, customs, and laws, I am now going to gratify the public with what I have learned upon that subject."

These islands, he informs us, are said to amount to 12,000 in number; but many of them are only hillocks of sand without inhabitants. The natives assert that the daily increase of the sea-sand diminishes the number of the cultivated islands and the inhabitants, and that islands of considerable size are frequently subdivided by channels gradually worn through them by the sea. The Maldives, collectively, are surrounded by a great ridge of rocks, which breaks the shock of the sea, and raises a prodigious surf. The whole group is divided into thirteen provinces, called *attollones*, each of which comprehends a great multitude of small islands. The channels which divide the islands of each attollone are so shallow, that they might be waded across at low water, if the sharpness of the rocks did not prevent this mode of communication. Many of the uninhabited islands are covered over with crabs of great size, and crayfish, or else with penguins, which are so numerous, that at some seasons it is impossible to walk without treading on their eggs or young ones. The sand is extremely white and fine, and so hot as to hatch the penguins' eggs. The attollones are separated from each other by deep channels, or arms of the sea; but of these there are only four in the whole archipelago that can be safely navigated by large vessels: and our author assures us that he saw them laid down with great exactness in the sea-charts of the natives.

The cocoa-tree constitutes the real wealth of the Maldives; and of this useful tree, which alone might supply

all the necessaries of life, our author speaks in the same terms of commendation as the Arabian travellers eight centuries before.* But it is remarkable, that although the Maldives are all fertile, and nearly in the same climate, yet the gifts of nature are so unequally distributed among them, that their productions are generally different, and they feel the necessity of a mutual commerce. This diversity of produce, and the social obligations which result from it, are still farther increased by the native custom which separates the artificers as strictly as if they belonged to different castes; the weavers all dwelling in one island, the goldsmiths in another, and so through the whole list of trades. The islanders are remarkably ingenious and industrious: they are all used to the water; few being so poor as not to possess a boat. The women are extremely handsome, and frequently as fair as Europeans. Subsistence being once provided (an easy task in those islands), pleasure is the chief occupation of the people.

De Laval had already spent five years in these islands, and despaired of being ever able to escape from them, when, in the month of February, 1607, he dreamed that he had recovered his liberty. This dream made a great impression on his mind; and he vowed to go in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Gallicia, if it should prove true. His vow was heard. The king of Bengal invaded the Maldives shortly after with a fleet of sixteen sail, and our author, on satisfying the conqueror that he was not a Portuguese, was kindly treated and brought back to India, whence, after undergoing some persecutions from the Jesuits, he effected his return to Europe, and performed his vow.

* See vol. I. p. 165.

CHAP. XIV.

SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA.

SUCCESS OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY. — RAPID INCREASE OF ENGLISH SHIPPING. — PATENT GRANTED TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH. — VOYAGE OF AMADAS AND BURLOW. — THEY DISCOVER WOKOKEN ISLAND. — TRADE WITH THE NATIVES. — VIRGINIA. — COLONY PLANTED BY SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE. — THE COAST EXPLORED. — THE COLONISTS SUFFER FROM WANT. — RETURN HOME WITH SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. — SECOND COLONY. — ITS FATE. — THIRD COLONY. — PERISHES FROM WANT. — RALEIGH'S PLANS OF CONQUEST. — EL DORADO. — HE TAKES TRINIDAD. — ASCENDS THE ORINOCO. — FALLS OF CAROLI. — INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES. — RESULT OF THE EXPEDITION. — VIRGINIA AGAIN EXPLORED. — COLONY ESTABLISHED AT JAMES-TOWN. — ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN SMITH. — TAKEN BY THE INDIANS. — HIS LIFE SAVED BY THE PRINCESS POCOHONTAS. — SHE MARRIES MR. ROLFE. — COMES TO ENGLAND. — HER DEATH. — LORD DELAWARE APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — THE SUMMERS' ISLANDS TAKEN POSSESSION OF. — CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO. — NEW PLYMOUTH FOUNDED BY THE BROWNISTS. — VOYAGE OF CARTIER TO THE ST. LAWRENCE. — HE ASCENDS THE RIVER TO MONTREAL. — SUFFERINGS OF HIS CREW. — HIS RETURN. — FRENCH COLONIES.

It seems to be the destiny of mankind to rise into civilisation by continual struggles with difficulties which demand foresight and perseverance, and to nurture its virtues by industry and toil. In political experience, as well as in that of private life, few examples can be adduced of advantages won without labour ever arriving at a happy conclusion. In the history of Spain and Portugal, the commencement of decay seems to be coeval with the extension of those Indian dominions which were supposed to be fountains of inexhaustible wealth. But, on the other hand, the most extraordinary instance of prosperous colonisation that occurs in the annals of the world, is to be seen in the long-neglected and comparatively unpromising region of North America, where

nature's richest treasures could only be unlocked by the exertions of persevering industry.

The advantages of the Newfoundland fishery were soon fully appreciated by European states, and all those which possessed a marine hastened to secure a participation in it. About the year 1578, the English vessels employed in this fishery were about fifty in number. Above a hundred Spanish vessels at the same time were annually employed on those banks: there were fifty Portuguese, a hundred and fifty French, and twenty or thirty Biscayan ships; the last being chiefly engaged in the whale fishery. Among all these the English had a decided superiority in the equipment of their vessels; and they seem also to have asserted a sovereignty over those seas, founded perhaps on the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot, which was generally acquiesced in by the foreign fishermen.* But the settlement made in Newfoundland by sir Humphrey Gilbert fixed the title and confirmed the predominance of the English in that quarter: and towards the close of queen Elizabeth's reign, the English fishing-vessels frequenting the Newfoundland banks exceeded two hundred sail, and employed above eight thousand seamen.

The death of that gallant gentleman threatened to put a check to those schemes of settlement which required not only ability to conduct, but a romantic imagination even to conceive and enter upon them in the first instance. But the influence and the projects of sir Humphrey Gilbert descended upon one not inferior to him in the ardour or boldness of his genius. His half-brother, sir Walter Raleigh, easily procured in 1584 the renewal of his patents, in terms quite as ample; the territory granted being any 200 miles in every direction of such "remote, heathen, and barbarous lands" as were not yet taken possession of by any Christian people. He immediately equipped two ships for the purpose of discovery; and, being too much engaged in court intrigues to conduct the expedition himself, he entrusted

* Harris. Collection of Travels, 1758, vol. ii.

it to the command of two experienced officers, captains Amadas and Barlow. They chose the circuitous course of the Canaries and West India islands. As they approached the coast of Florida, they were delighted with the odour which was wafted from the land long before it was in sight. On discovering the continent, they sailed along the coast forty leagues, till they came to a river, where, going on shore, they took possession of the country in the name of the queen and of their employers. Ascending the summit of a hill, they found that they had landed on an island (Wokoken, on the coast of New Carolina) of about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. They met a native, whom they treated kindly; and he, to show his gratitude, divided among them a boat-load of fish, the produce of his day's industry. Soon after, they were visited by the king of the country, surrounded by forty or fifty chiefs. His fancy was particularly caught by a pewter dish, which he purchased for twenty deer-skins; and making a hole in the rim, he suspended it from his neck as a breastplate, intimating by signs that it would protect him from the arrows of his enemies. For a copper kettle he gave fifty valuable skins. But the articles which he most coveted were swords, and to procure these he offered to leave a box of pearls in pledge; the English, however, cautiously avoided furnishing the savages with arms, or discovering the value that they attached to pearls before they knew whence they were procured. They were told of a great city, six days' journey in the interior, where the king resided, but did not attempt to reach it; and being satisfied with the success of their voyage, they returned to England in September. They represented the country which they had discovered as a perfect paradise, uniting the most romantic scenery with unequalled fertility. The queen, charmed with this description, was pleased to call the newly discovered land *Virginia;* a name which at that time comprehended nearly all the territories of North America to which the English made pretensions.

In the following year, 1585, sir Walter Raleigh sent out a second expedition, under sir Richard Greenville, a man of chivalrous bravery and disinterested character. He landed 108 men at Roenoke, opposite the island of Wokoken; and taking a prize on his return, raised the expectation of his employers still higher by the prosperous issue of his voyage. The settlers, in the mean time, who were left on the American continent, exerted themselves, in conformity with the advice of Raleigh, in examining the coast; and followed it 80 miles to the south, and 130 to the north, without being able to find a harbour of any importance. In these excursions they ventured too far up the rivers, and exposed themselves to the ambuscades of the savages: a great many of them were in consequence cut off. They also neglected, from ignorance of the climate, to gather food such as the country supplied, in proper season. As no provisions arrived from England in the following year, they were severely pressed by famine, and reduced to utter despair, when at length they descried a fleet, which proved to be that of sir Francis Drake returning triumphant from his expedition to the West Indies. They solicited and obtained permission to embark on board his fleet; and precipitately abandoning the settlements, returned to England. Raleigh in the mean time had not forgotten them, though prevented by unavoidable delays from sending them timely relief. Sir Richard Greenville arrived at Roenoke immediately after the departure of the colony. Though grieved and surprised to see the place abandoned, he was not deterred from his plan of settlement; and he accordingly left behind him fifty men, with provisions for two years. This new colony likewise perished through neglect. In 1587, the buildings were found all destroyed; and the bones of a man lying exposed upon the ground offered the only evidence as to the fate of the unhappy colonists. Captain White, who visited Roenoke in that year, made a third effort to effect a settlement; but the colonists had so little industry, their minds were so wholly turned

upon amassing sudden wealth, and their habits were so dissolute and ungovernable, that they soon felt the most alarming distress; and White was obliged to proceed to England to procure provisions. But the nation, at that time, was so much engrossed by the alarms of the Spanish invasion, that every other object was regarded with indifference, and two years elapsed before White could effect his purpose. At length he sailed, in 1589, with three ships. On arriving at Roenoke, no traces of any settlements could be found; but on the bark of the trees he saw the word *Croatan* cut in large letters, whence he concluded that the colonists had removed to an island so named, and situated a few leagues to the south of Roenoke. He immediately directed his course to Croatan; but a violent storm arose, which drove him out to sea, and compelled him to return to England without making any farther attempts to relieve the unhappy colonists. Thus perished the third settlement.

Sir Walter Raleigh had equipped seven expeditions, and expended above 40,000*l.*, or nearly his whole fortune, within a few years, to no purpose; but his romantic temper was not to be subdued by ill success: and as he lived at court, and entered into all the intrigues of his day, brilliant exploits were often necessary to him, to cover and redeem the mortifications of his daily life. As his fortune diminished, his imagination grew more ardent, despair perhaps lessening the influence of judgment; and he devoted the latter part of his life to the prosecution of delusive schemes, which had never allured him at a time when he better possessed the means of accomplishing whatever he proposed.

It is difficult to ascertain with precision the circumstances or the time which gave birth to the belief in the existence of a golden country, or El Dorado, in the interior of South America, where the government of the incas was revived in its ancient splendour, and where the precious metals existed in such abundance that even the roofs of the temples were made of gold. It circulated as early as 1531, when Ordaca undertook a luckless expe-

dition to the mouths of the Orinoco, to ascend that river. Gonzalez Pizarro, in his march to the sources of the Maragnon, received a confirmation of the tale; and Orellana, in descending that great river, collected many marvellous relations tending to corroborate in his mind the same gratifying intelligence. But while the Spaniards sought nothing and thought of nothing but gold, it is not surprising that every picture that haunted their fancy should be richly adorned with that precious metal. All the tales collected by the Spaniards were familiar to sir Walter Raleigh, who, as he wished them to weigh with the public mind, allowed them to operate freely on his own. He proposed the conquest of Guiana, and the discovery of El Dorado, or the country of gold; in which the natives in their feasts, according to a Spanish writer, having first anointed themselves with a gummy balsam, roll themselves in gold dust, so as to be gilt from head to foot.

The plans of sir Walter Raleigh were favourably entertained by the ministers, and in 1595 he sailed with five ships for Guiana. He made himself master of Trinidad; and calling together the natives, explained to them, by an interpreter whom he brought with him from England, that "he was the servant of a queen who was the greatest cacique in the North, and a virgin who had more caciques under her command than there were trees in that island; that she was an enemy to the Spaniards, on account of their tyranny and oppression; and having freed all the coasts of the northern world from their servitude, had sent him to free them also; and moreover to defend Guiana from their invasion and conquest." He then prepared to pass over to the continent. Berreo, a Spanish officer who had unsuccessfully attempted to enter Guiana, tried to dissuade Raleigh from the hasty execution of his plan; telling him that it would be necessary to carry provisions for a tedious voyage, that the navigation of the rivers was rendered difficult by numerous shoals and rapids, and that they were beginning to swell and pour down overwhelming torrents at the very

season when he was preparing to ascend them. These fair arguments were construed by the English cavalier into the suggestions of a rival, who wished to thwart his plans, and defeat their execution. He attempted to enter the river Orinoco with his ships; but finding it impossible to bring them across the bar, he was obliged to undertake the expedition in open boats. A hundred men, with their arms and provisions for a month, were crowded into three small boats, exposed to all the extremes of the weather in an unhealthy climate; they had advanced but a short way up the river when they found themselves involved in a labyrinth of channels, from which they could not extricate themselves without much labour and anxiety. Luckily they surprised an old Indian in a canoe; and being treated kindly, he readily consented to become their pilot. The Indians inhabiting the mouth of the Orinoco lived in houses during the summer, or dry season; but in the winter months, when the country was overflowed, they constructed small huts in the trees, to which they ascended by means of ladders. Some rumours concerning the Spaniards and the golden country were collected as they went on, which inspired the men with the same ardour as their chief. When Raleigh had ascended the river about 300 miles, he had an interview with Tapiowary, an Indian chieftain 110 years old, who gave him the most ample information respecting the political situation of the country, and its natural productions.

Leaving this old chieftain, Raleigh proceeded westward to view the falls of the river Caroli. From the summit of a hill overlooking the river they beheld it rolling down in three streams for twenty miles together: the current was so rapid that an eight-oared boat could not stem it, in a stream as wide as the Thames at Woolwich. A dozen cataracts, one above the other, rushed down with such violence that the noise could be heard at a distance of many leagues. The landscape around was the most beautiful that could be imagined: the hills were richly clothed with wood, the waters winding below

in numerous branches; the plains clear of brushwood, and covered with fine green turf; deer crossing the scene in every direction; and multitudes of birds, of endless varieties and the most brilliant colours, fluttering among the trees or perched along the river banks. Even the specimens of the mineral world found here had an unusual brilliancy; and fragments of stone, supposed to contain gold, were carried off by the credulous adventurers.

Raleigh had now advanced 400 miles from the coast; he had been absent from his fleet a month; the wet season was coming on, and the river began to rise with fearful rapidity; it was no longer prudent, therefore, to defer his return. In descending the river he repeated his visit to the old chieftain Tapiowary, and consulted him respecting the possibility of conquering Guiana, and reaching the golden city Manoa. The prudent replies of the old Indian appeared encouraging to one whose mind was wholly bent on these visionary schemes. But whatever might be thought of the soundness of his calculations, the abilities of Raleigh as a leader were advantageously shown in this surprising expedition, in which there was neither murmuring nor discontent; and in which, notwithstanding the dangers and privations to which the men were exposed, not one perished during the whole voyage, with the exception of a negro who was devoured by a crocodile. Raleigh brought home with him specimens of the golden ore on which his hopes were founded. The son of Tapiowary accompanied him to England, where he was baptised with much ceremony by the name of Gualtero. Two Englishmen at the same time remained with the Indian chieftain: the one a good craftsman; the other a boy, intended to learn the language of the natives, in which he actually became proficient, but was unfortunately killed and devoured in the woods by wild beasts. The character of Raleigh had no doubt been much lowered in popular estimation by the ill success of his expeditions to Virginia; and the fruitless issue of his voyage to Guiana completed his downfal. His attainder, which followed not long after, by an-

nulling his patent, threw open the West to new projectors.

In 1605, captain Weymouth was despatched to Virginia, to examine the coast for the purpose of a settlement. He discovered Long Island, and entered a great river, most probably the Hudson, which he ventured to compare to the Orinoco and the Maragnon. The account which he gave on his return, of the magnificent country which he had examined, of its navigable rivers and harbours capable of containing all the fleets in the world, stimulated the slumbering spirit of plantation. Two companies were soon after incorporated for the purpose of planting Virginia; the limits assigned by the charter to the one being from 38° to 43° N. latitude, to the other from 41° to 45°, a space of two degrees being thus whimsically left in common. The London company, to which the more southerly country was allotted, having the largest amount of capital at its disposal, was the first to begin its operations. A squadron of three vessels under the command of captain Newport, with 110 settlers, sailed from London in 1607, and arrived in April at the mouth of Chesapeak Bay. The first great river explored by the settlers was the Powhatan, which they called James's River. About fifty miles up the stream they found a peninsula connected with the main land by an isthmus about thirty yards across. The soil was fertile, the situation secure; and here they founded James's Town, which still exists, and is the oldest settlement in the United States.

Among the leaders of this colony was captain John Smith, who was already well known for his adventures in the Turkish wars. He distinguished himself in the Hungarian army; was taken prisoner by the Turks; was by them sold to the Tatars; and, after wandering over a great part of the interior of Asia, returned home to encounter new perils and difficulties in the western world. The council who undertook the administration of the new colony, and of whom some were men of rank and consequence, at first studiously excluded

him from the share in the management of affairs to which he was entitled by his talents and experience; perhaps from envy, or from the dread of his usurping too absolute a rule. But when danger made its appearance, all the authority devolved on the veteran Smith. The bulk of the colonists were persons of dissolute manners and without industry, who migrated from home in the hope of escaping from the restraints of law, and of enriching themselves in a short time by the discovery of gold. A bright yellow mineral was found in the neighbourhood of James Town, which was credulously believed to contain the darling metal. But while all were engaged in these vain researches, distress began to be felt. The Indians, being treated with harshness and indignity, at first refused provisions, and at last broke out into open hostility.

The resolution, activity, and adroitness of captain Smith defeated all their attacks, and taught them to fear the courage and vigilance of their adversaries. To him the colony owed its preservation. As soon as he found leisure from his toils, he proceeded to examine the Chesapeak Bay, at the head of which he discovered the Potowmac river; and the sight of that noble stream so encouraged his disorderly and reluctant crews, that they cheerfully volunteered to explore it. This coasting voyage of 3000 miles, in bad weather and in an open boat, was an achievement in which Smith felt an honourable pride. In ascending James's River his prudence forsook him, and his too great confidence in his personal prowess and the resources of his ingenuity had nearly proved his destruction. He mounted the stream until the branches of the trees and the numerous rapids prevented the further progress of the boat: he then prosecuted his voyage in a small canoe, with two English companions and two Indian guides. Having ascended about twenty miles in this way, he went ashore and began to amuse himself with shooting in the woods. The Indians in the mean time were on the watch; and when Smith returned to the river he found that his companions had been killed,

and saw himself surrounded by a host of savage warriors with their bows bent and ready to overwhelm him with a shower of arrows. But in this alarming situation he did not lose his wonted intrepidity: he promptly seized one of his Indian guides, bound him before him so as to serve as a shield against the Indian weapons, and thus prepared to make a vigorous defence. But the Indians were too numerous; Smith was soon surrounded and made prisoner. He was tied to a tree, and about to be shot to death, when, showing to the Indians a small compass dial, and explaining to them its uses by describing the motions of the heavenly bodies, he so charmed and astonished his simple auditory, that they deferred his execution, and unbinding him instantly, led him to Powhatan, the chief who ruled with the authority of a king over all the country in the neighbourhood of this river.

He found the Indian chief surrounded by his principal warriors, with the women of his family ranged at the back of the tent. The fate of Smith was already resolved on; he was the most formidable enemy of the Indian tribes, and the stern Powhatan condemned him at once to die. A large stone was placed in front of the assembly, and Smith was forcibly dragged along and compelled to lay his head upon it, while a painted warrior stood near brandishing a club with which he was to dash out his brains at the word of command. The fatal word was uttered which was to terminate Smith's life and adventures, when Pocohontas, the eldest daughter of Powhatan, rushed forward, and placing her head upon that of Smith, declared her determination to save his life at the peril of her own. Savage ferocity was melted by this display of female tenderness. The heart of Powhatan relented, and Smith was allowed to depart on condition of sending to the Indians those articles of European manufacture which they chiefly prized.

The return of Smith saved the colony from the ruin with which it was threatened by the idleness and unruly character of the settlers. Order, and even tran-

quillity prevailed while the authority remained in his hands; but soon after, he suffered so much injury from an accidental explosion of gunpowder, that he was compelled to return to England for his health. The princess Pocohontas in the mean time had shown many proofs of her friendship to him and to the English in general. She had stolen through the woods, and risked her life, to reveal to the colonists the danger with which they were threatened by the secret machinations of the Indian tribes. Her kindness was at last repaid by ingratitude, which conduced, nevertheless, to an agreeable result. Pocohontas was taken prisoner, and kept as a hostage for the pacific conduct of her father. In her captivity the Indian princess grew more attached to the English; and a respectable young man, John Rolfe, became the object of her tenderest regards. She married him, and was baptised by the name of Rebecca. When the intelligence of her marriage was conveyed to the ears of Powhatan, it gave him much delight, and he was from that day forward a steady friend of the settlers. The princess Pocohontas, now Mrs. Rolfe, visited England, where she was the object of much attention, and even admiration. Her natural good sense and purity of mind supplied the defects of her education; and when suddenly transported from the woods of America to the giddy scenes of English society, she was found not deficient in just discrimination or in dignity of demeanour. Her first interview with Smith affected her deeply. She seemed quite overcome by the pain his presence caused her, and for some hours could not be brought to fix her eyes upon him. He had never returned, perhaps not even suspected, the warm passion with which he had inspired her. King James felt alarmed lest Rolfe might aspire to the sovereignty of Virginia in right of his wife; but his majesty's weak fears were at length subdued, and the princess with her husband were permitted to depart. She died, however, at Gravesend, when on the point of returning to her native country.

Pocohontas was accompanied to England by her kins-

man Vitomotomakkin, an Indian priest and chieftain, who was instructed by Powhatan to make himself well acquainted with all the circumstances of the country, and particularly to learn the exact number of its tribes and warriors. For this purpose Vitomotomakkin was provided with a bundle of sticks, that he might make a notch for every man he saw. The moment he landed at Plymouth, he began patiently to cut notches, though evidently astounded at the magnitude of the task before him. He continued indefatigably at the same work while on the road to London; but as soon as he entered Piccadilly he flung away his sticks in despair; and told Powhatan, on his return, that to know the numbers of the English, he must count the leaves of all the trees in the forest.

The English colonies in Virginia, relying more on foreign supplies than on their own industry, supported with difficulty, for a few years, a frail and tottering existence. In 1609, a reinforcement of 500 settlers arrived in nine ships. Lord Delawarr was appointed governor of the colony; but as he was unable to proceed himself to the settlements in that year, he sent three deputy governors, who, being embarked in the same ship, were all cast away on the islands of Bermudas. On those islands, which were at that time uninhabited, they found abundance of wood and of provisions. The swine left there by the Spaniards had increased prodigiously, and proved for the future a grand resource to the needy colonists. The Bermudas were now taken possession of for the crown of England; and from sir George Summers, one of the deputy-governors, they received the name of the *Summers' Islands*. The presence of so many men of rank and consideration supplied in some measure the vigour and authoritative tone of Smith, and maintained a semblance of order and of plenty among the profuse, negligent, and murmuring colonists. But a society formed of such heterogeneous elements could not easily acquire stability; and when lord Delawarr, shortly after, arrived in the Chesapeak Bay, to enter upon his office as

governor, he found the settlers already embarked, and on the point of returning home. He compelled them, however, to relinquish that design, and to apply themselves assiduously to the improvement of their fortunes in the New World. This lucky accident saved the Virginian colonies from being again totally extinguished. In 1616, they commenced the cultivation of tobacco, from which they soon derived wealth and importance. Tobacco, when first brought into use in Europe, had much opposition to encounter: and as bigotry is easily allied with prejudice, those who decried it from mere fantastical antipathy were its most zealous adversaries, and did not scruple even to allege the authority of religion on their side. King James openly avowed his aversion to "this vile and nauseous weed," from which the country has since derived so large a share of its revenue. There are few facts in history that so fully illustrate how little the authority of the sovereign avails against the general feeling of the commonalty, than the rapidity with which tobacco—a luxury not very captivating in the first instance—although denounced by some of the greatest princes in Europe*, has grown into extensive circulation.

While the London company persevered, with apparently indifferent success, to colonise the southern parts of Virginia, the Plymouth company, which had been incorporated at the same time, and to which were allotted the northern parts of that extensive region called Virginia, was satisfied to carry on a trade of no great value with the natives. The wanton violence with which the Indians had in the first instance been incautiously treated, gave birth to such an implacable animosity towards the English, that no presents or mild usage could afterwards appease them. Their unremitting hostilities so terrified the settlers, that the attempts to plant a colony in the country now called New England proved for many years abortive. At length, in 1620, a sect of puri-

* Peter the Great of Russia, Frederic of Prussia, and Amurath IV. of Turkey.

tans called Brownists, hoping to enjoy in the wild forests of the New World that liberty of conscience which was not allowed them in civilised countries, established themselves at Plymouth in Massachusetts, and thus laid the foundation of the most industrious and powerful colonies in the world.

The French had preceded the English in the attempt to establish a dominion over the boundless regions of North America; but from want of perseverance they were soon outstripped by their vigorous competitors. In 1534, Jaques Cartier sailed from St. Malo to examine the coast of Newfoundland. He returned in safety, and the following year set forth again to prosecute his researches. He entered a great gulf, to which he gave the name of St. Lawrence. Here the savages informed him that the great river *Hochelega* (the St. Lawrence), which conducted to Canada, was before him. They affirmed that it penetrated so far inland, that they had never heard of any one who had reached its source. Cartier proceeded to ascend the river, and found anchorage near the Isle of Orleans; to which, from the beauty, variety, and luxuriance of its vegetation, and particularly for the great number of vines, which clustered over it in profusion, he named the *Island of Bacchus*. He ascended the river in boats, till he came to the village of Stadacona, (called also by the natives *Canada*, or *the town*,) which stood, he says, upon as fine a piece of ground as could be seen in France, surrounded by noble trees, such as oaks, elms, walnut, maple, and others, loaded with fruit. The Indian chief Donnacona pronounced a long oration to the French, the women at the same time dancing and singing for delight in the water. When he and Cartier pledged mutual friendship to each other, the Indians who surrounded them gave the war-cry, or three horrible yells, which almost terrified their visiters. The French ships were now brought up to Stadacona, while Cartier made preparations to explore the Hochelega in his boats. But he learned that the Indian chief was averse to this attempt. When the French,

however, still persisted in their intention, the Indians endeavoured to shake their resolution by a stratagem which strongly portrays their superstition and simplicity. They dressed up three men like devils, in black and white dog-skins, with their faces blackened, and horns on their heads a yard in length. These men were placed in a canoe, in such a situation as to be carried near the ships by the flowing of the tide. The Indians lay in the woods, watching their appearance. When the canoe approached the ships, one of the three devils stood up, and made a long harangue; and as soon as they reached the land, they fell down as if dead, and were carried off by the Indians into concealment. Some of the Indians immediately came on board to Cartier, and, feigning the greatest consternation, explained to him the meaning of what had been seen. Their god Cudruaigny, they said, had spoken in Hochelega, and had sent these three demons to declare that there was so much ice and snow in that country, that whoever ventured there would surely perish. Undismayed by their predictions, the Frenchman made an excursion up the river, and was charmed as he advanced by the richness and majesty of the landscapes that opened before him. Whenever he approached the shore he met with the kindest and most hospitable treatment from the natives. For nine days he sailed up this great river; and found the country the whole way as fertile, as well wooded, and as agreeable, as could be desired. At length he came to a wide lake or enlargement of the river (now called St. Peter's Lake), twelve leagues long and six in breadth, which he called the *Lake of Angoulême*. Beyond this he found some difficulty in navigating the river, from its rapids, and the number of its channels: four days' sail, however, now brought him to Hochelega, forty-five leagues above the Lake of Angoulême. The city of Hochelega, as he calls the Indian hamlet, was six miles from the river side, and the road to it was as well beaten and as well frequented as any in France; leading through a country planted with noble oaks, the ground being strewed over with

fine acorns. Close to the Indian village was a fertile and cultivated hill, to which Cartier gave the name of *Montreal*, and which subsequently became the site of one of the principal Canadian colonies. From his description of the dwellings of the Indians and of their rural industry, it may be concluded that those simple races have wofully degenerated since their acquaintance with Europeans. In speaking of their ornaments, he relates a circumstance which has hitherto been thought inexplicable, and too hastily censured as a ridiculous story. "That which they hold," he says, "in highest estimation among all their possessions is a substance which they call *esurgny* or *cornibotz*, which is as white as snow, and is procured in the following manner:—When any one is adjudged to death for a crime, or when they have taken any of their enemies in war, having first slain the person, they make deep gashes in the flanks, shoulders, and thighs of the dead body, which is then sunk to the bottom of the river in the place where the esurgny abounds. After remaining there ten or twelve hours, the body is drawn up, and the esurgny or cornibotz is found in the gashes. Of this they make beads, which they wear about their necks as we do chains of gold and silver, accounting it their most precious riches." In this account we find perhaps the earliest allusion to that peculiar substance called adipocire or factitious spermaceti, of which a manufactory was established a few years back in the neighbourhood of Bristol. Cartier or his Indian informants erred only in supposing that the esurgny or white substance was not formed by the subaqueous decomposition of the animal matter, but collected by it from natural depositions at the bottom of the river. In Cartier's narrative also we find the first description of tobacco, with a ludicrous caricature of the mode of using it. "The Indians," he says, "have a certain herb, of which they lay up a store every summer, having first dried it in the sun. It is used only by the men, who always carry some of it in a small bag hanging from their necks, in which they keep also a hollow piece

of stone or wood like a pipe. When they use this herb, they bruise it to powder, put it into one end of the pipe, and laying a small piece of burning coal upon it, they suck at the other end so long that they fill their bodies full of smoke till it comes out of their mouth and nostrils as from the chimney of a house. They allege that this practice is conducive to health: we tried to use this smoke, but on putting it into our mouths it seemed as hot as pepper."

From the summit of Montreal the eye could trace the river about fifteen leagues, till it terminated in a broad and glittering rapid. The natives were acquainted with three more such falls; and said, that after passing these, a man might sail for three months up the river without interruption. They intimated that gold and silver abounded toward the south, and copper in the opposite direction. They spoke also of three or four great lakes, and an inland sea of fresh water, the end of which had never been explored. But the Indians of Hochelega were an agricultural tribe, who wandered but a short distance from their habitations, and chiefly owed their geographical knowledge to the hunting tribes of Saguenay in the north. The chief Donnacona, who had travelled much when he was young, had visited the country of Saguenay, which he described as rich and abundant. He had travelled among the *Picquemians*, who were probably the Picquagamies dwelling round Lake St. John, at the head of the Saguenay river. He also said that there were white men in the country of Saguenay, whose dresses were of woollen cloth like that worn by the French. Those who are unwilling to believe that this relation was an invention of the old chief (and it has not much the internal character of fiction) may be inclined to suppose that the Cortereals, with their companions, had fallen into the hands of the Indians of Labrador, by whom they were conducted into the interior.

Cartier and his companions wintered in the St. Lawrence, opposite the Indian town of Stadacona, from November till March. The ship was enclosed by ice

two fathoms in thickness, and the snow lay above four feet deep on the decks; liquors were all frozen; and, to complete the misery of the crew, the scurvy, a disease with which they were wholly unacquainted, broke out among them. There were not above three sound men in the whole company. Those who died were buried in the snow, the survivors wanting strength to dig a grave for them in the earth. An Indian at length pointed out a tree, with the leaves and bark of which they made a decoction, by drinking which they were soon completely cured. The ice being at length melted, Cartier put to sea, and arrived at St. Malo in July, 1536.

In consequence of the favourable account which Cartier gave of the country which he had surveyed, of its magnificent river, its apparent fertility, and the tractability of its inhabitants, an expedition was undertaken to settle and cultivate it. A gentleman named Roberval obtained a patent, and proceeded, in 1540, to plant a colony in Canada; but no success attended this and other subsequent weak attempts. It was not till 1608 that Quebec was founded; and already, in 1629, the English, who were now rapidly acquiring strength in Virginia, threatened the existence of the new settlement. In 1609, the Dutch planted their first colony in the Hudson.

CHAP. XV.

ESTABLISHMENTS IN AFRICA.

EXCLUSIVE TRADE OF PORTUGAL TO AFRICA. — VOYAGES OF WINDHAM AND LOK. — SUCCESS OF LOK. — ADVENTURES OF ANDREW BATTEL. — TAKEN PRISONER BY THE PORTUGUESE. — CARRIED TO ANGOLA. — TRADES FOR THE GOVERNOR. — ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE. — DETECTED AND IMPRISONED. — SENT TO MASSINGANO. — ESCAPES. — HIS JOURNEY. — RETAKEN. — SENT TO EL AMBO. — WOUNDED IN BATTLE. — THE PORTUGUESE TRADE WITH THE GIAGAS. — FOLLOW THEM UP THE COUNTRY. — BATTEL LEFT AS A HOSTAGE. — THREATENED WITH DEATH. — ESCAPES TO THE GIAGAS. — RETURNS TO MASSINGANO. — PEACE WITH ENGLAND. — BATTEL'S DISMISSAL REFUSED. — HE DESERTS THE THIRD TIME. — BETAKES HIMSELF TO THE WOODS. — LAKE KABANSA. — HE BUILDS A BOAT, AND REACHES THE SEA. — PICKED UP. — RETURNS HOME. — MISSION TO THE GIAGAS. — THEIR ATROCITIES. — ZINGHA EMBRACES CHRISTIANITY. — ENGLISH SENEGAL COMPANY. — THOMPSON ASCENDS THE GAMBIA. — HIS DEATH. — VOYAGE OF JOBSON. — CONFERENCE WITH BUCKAR SANO. — ACCOUNTS OF TIMBUCTOO. — THE SILENT TRAFFIC. — FRENCH COMPANIES. — JANNEQUIN'S TRAVELS. — BRUE ASCENDS THE SENEGAL. — RECEIVES INTELLIGENCE OF THE GOLD TRADE. — COMPAGNON VISITS BAMBOUK. — REMISSNESS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

While the Europeans planted their flag and established their power in the New World, and in the remotest countries of the East, they made comparatively little progress nearer home, where, nevertheless, they did not neglect to make pretensions of dominion. African discoveries were not prosecuted with zeal until their difficulty was fully known, and until curiosity was excited by an appearance of inscrutable mystery. The Portuguese, having first discovered the coasts of Africa, asserted, by virtue of the pope's grant, an exclusive right to the trade or dominion of that extensive region. The English, at an early period, attempted to share in this trade. In 1481,

two Englishmen were reported to be engaged in equipping a squadron, under the patronage of the duke de Medina Sidonia, to sail to the coast of Guinea. Ambassadors were immediately despatched from the court of Portugal to remonstrate with Edward IV. respecting the invasion of a right sanctioned by the pope, whose authority to dispose of kingdoms was not yet called in question, and to prevail on him to prohibit his subjects from interfering with the Portuguese possessions in Africa. This request was granted; and the English traders were for many years compelled to confine themselves within the narrow limits drawn by bigotry and political usurpation.

The chief African possessions of the Portuguese were in the Senegambia, or the country between the rivers Senegal and Gambia, on the Gold Coast, and in Congo. Little is known of their proceedings; and it is even surprising to reflect how little instruction mankind has derived from the unwearied activity of the Portuguese during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The prevalence of their language in the country south of the Gambia proves that their power was there once widely established; and it is thought that even Bambouk at one time owned their sway. Merchants and missionaries were their travellers: the former attentive to nothing besides gain; the latter sunk in blind superstition, and viewing every object with the eyes of narrow-minded bigotry.

As the Reformation shook the influence of the pope in England, it effectually broke down the barriers opposed to conquest by the pontifical decrees, and the English felt themselves at full liberty to encroach on rights which were founded upon principles no longer acknowledged or respected. In spite of the remonstrances of the court of Portugal, two ships, well [illegible] and armed, under the command of captain [illegible] were despatched to trade on the coast of Africa in 1553. Windham was accompanied by a Portuguese named Pinteado, who, having fallen into disgrace at his own country, transferred his services to

the English merchants. Windham's pride took offence at this appointment of a colleague; and, in consequence, he treated Pinteado with a brutality and contempt which were attended with most disastrous effects to the expedition. When Pinteado advised the commander to exchange his merchandise for gold on the coast of Guinea, and to avoid the unhealthy shores of Benin, Windham, from a spirit of opposition, pursued the very course which he ought to have avoided. Windham and above two thirds of the crew were cut off by the diseases of the climate: Pinteado expired on the voyage home through grief and vexation.

The deplorable termination of this voyage, occasioned manifestly by the misconduct of the commander, did not discourage the merchants of London from making a second experiment. In 1554, three vessels sailed for Guinea, under the command of captain John Lok. These vessels met with no accident or interruption in the course of their trading voyage along the coast of Guinea: they brought home above 400 pounds' weight of gold, a large quantity of Guinea pepper, and 250 elephants' teeth of different sizes. Among the objects of curiosity found or expected along this strange coast, the elephant seems to have excited the most interest in the English traders. They brought home with them the head of one, so large, that the skull alone, exclusive of the lower jaw and great tusks, weighed above 200 pounds' weight, and was as much as a man could raise from the ground. Yet it may be doubted whether the author of the narrative (who was also the pilot of the voyage) ever saw an elephant; since he thinks fit to inform us, that "the great teeth, or tusks, grow on the upper jaw downward, and not in the lower jaw upwards, as the painters and arras-workers represent them." Of the natives he observes, that their princes and noblemen pounce and raise their skins in divers figures, like flowered damask. They expected civility and strict honesty in those who dealt with them, at which the English pilot expresses a rather discreditable surprise. Captain Lok brought

home with him some negro slaves, who, he informs us, were tall and strong men, and well pleased with English fare, but somewhat indisposed with the coldness and moisture of the climate. The success of this voyage was so encouraging as to give rise to the establishment of a regular Guinea trade; which was carried on by private adventurers for some years, unattended with any remarkable event, although exposed to the continual hostility of the Portuguese. To the narrative of an English prisoner, however, we owe the first and most interesting accounts of the Portuguese settlements in Congo.

Andrew Battel sailed from the Thames in 1589, in a small vessel bound to the La Plata. The pinnace destined for this long voyage was of only fifty tons burden: but the boldness of navigators in that age is not to be estimated merely from the smallness of the vessels with which they ventured across the ocean; they seem also in many instances to have neglected the necessary equipments, and, with the spirit of rovers, to have trusted to fortune or to force to supply them with the necessaries of life. The ship in which Battel was embarked, after suffering much from the want of provisions, anchored at the little island of St. Sebastian, on the coast of Brazil. Here the half-famished crew went ashore, to catch fish or to wander through the woods in search of fruit. In the mean time a canoe full of Indians, from the town of Spiritu Santo, observing what passed, landed on the opposite side of the island, and advancing secretly through the woods, seized five of the company, and Battel among the number, and carried them off to Rio Janeiro. After four months' imprisonment in this place, Battel was sent to Angola, and afterwards to a fort on the Coanza 130 miles up the country. When he had remained here two months, the pilot of the governor's pinnace died, and Battel was commanded to steer her down the river to the town of St. Paul, on the sea-coast, where he fell sick, and continued eight months seriously indisposed; being treated

with harshness and neglect as a heretic and an Englishman. He at length recovered, however, and was employed by the governor to trade for him in a small vessel to the river Zaire, and afterwards to Loango. In this task he acquitted himself with ability and success. For one yard of cloth, the Portuguese could purchase from the natives three elephants' teeth weighing 120 pounds. The governor of Angola, finding Battel a valuable servant, promised him his freedom as the reward of his zeal and fidelity. He thus continued for two years and a half to carry on a trade along the coast, from Angola to Loango. At the end of that time a Dutch ship arrived at St. Paul, the master of which promised to give Battel a passage home. Accordingly he stole privately on board; but as the ship was about to weigh anchor, he was betrayed by the Portuguese seamen, and carried back to prison, where he lay for two months in heavy irons, expecting every day to be put to death. But the Portuguese, being engaged in perpetual wars with the natives, were unwilling to sacrifice the life of a white man, to which, in their peculiar situation, an extraordinary value was attached. Battel was banished to Massangano, where he lived six years, bearing the brunt of the warfare with the natives, and with little hope of ever beholding the sea again. In the fort of Massangano he found some Moors and Egyptians, companions in misfortune, kept in slavery by the Portuguese, and employed to enslave others. To one of the Egyptians, Battel ventured to hint that it would be better for them at once to venture their lives for their liberty than to wear away existence in such a miserable servitude. The Egyptian liked the proposal, and others were soon found to join in the conspiracy. Three Egyptians and seven Portuguese, along with Battel, at length stole off. On the night of their escape, they seized the best canoe they could meet with, and descended the river Coanza. When at a considerable distance from the fort, they went ashore with their muskets and ammunition, taking care to sink the canoe,

that the Portuguese might not know where they had landed. They travelled the whole night and the next day without finding water, so that the second night they were scarcely able to proceed, being obliged to dig up the roots of plants and suck them to moisten their mouths. On the third day they met an old negro, whom they compelled to serve as guide to the lake of Kasansa. Fearing pursuit, they travelled during the heat of the day, which in that climate is almost insupportable. They proceeded so far towards the east, that they reached the mountains, which on that side form the boundary of the kingdom of Congo. They now discovered that they were misled by their negro guides; and had hardly extricated themselves from this difficulty, when they found themselves surrounded by their Portuguese pursuers and a multitude of negroes. Battel came forward from the thicket where he had concealed himself, and declared his resolution to sell his life dearly. The Portuguese officer, engaging that his life should be safe, induced him to surrender. Notwithstanding this guarantee, he narrowly escaped being hanged when carried to St. Paul, where he lay for three months with a heavy collar of iron on his neck and bolts on his legs.

But the necessity which the Portuguese felt of mustering an imposing force of white men, again saved his life. He was sent up to the country of Elambo with 400 Portuguese criminals, condemned to serve for life in the wars with the negroes. In the course of his military service here he received a wound in the leg, in consequence of which he was sent back to the city of St. Paul to procure surgical assistance. His skill as a pilot was again brought into requisition, and he was ordered to conduct a ship to the *Bahia das Vaccas* or the Bay of Cows, where the Portuguese purchased from the natives the cattle with which they supplied their colonies.

In the second voyage made by Battel to this part of the coast, when the ship came opposite to the river Cova

a considerable army was seen encamped along its banks. A boat was sent ashore for intelligence, and brought back word that these were the *Giagas* or *Gindes*, who had marched from Sierra Leone, over-running the country of Congo. The great Giaga, their chief, came to the water side to look at the Portuguese, having never seen white men before. On hearing that they came to trade, he encouraged them to land and to produce their merchandise. As prisoners were numerous in the Giagas' camp, the Portuguese loaded their ship with slaves, which they procured at an advantageous rate; "purchasing for a real apiece slaves which, in the city, were worth twelve milreas." They also assisted the Giagas in crossing the river to the country of Benguela, where they intended to continue their devastations. At day-break the great Giaga beat his gongo, an instrument of war sounding like a bell, and in a loud oration declared that he would destroy the Benguelas. The Portuguese kindly aided him to fulfil his humane intentions. As soon as the Giagas had crossed the river, they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter among the inhabitants. "The prisoners," says Battel, "were brought into the camp alive, and the dead bodies eaten by the Giagas, who are the greatest cannibals in the world, delighting in man's flesh, though they have plenty of cattle." The Portuguese, from conformity of interest or sentiment, conceived a strong attachment to these terrific savages, and carried on a brisk trade with them for five months; but at the end of that time the Giagas marched towards Bamballa in the interior. The Portuguese, finding their friends gone, resolved to follow them, and proceeded two days' march up the country, being guided in their course by the desolation that attended the march of the Giagas. On arriving at the town of a native chieftain, they sent to him a negro slave whom they had purchased of the Giagas, with instructions to say that he was sent to conduct the chieftain to the Giaga camp. But the crafty negro prince penetrated this attempt to ensnare him into captivity, and

he retorted it on its contrivers: for hearing that the Giagas had left the country, he compelled the Portuguese to remain and serve him in his wars; and having conquered his enemies by their assistance, he would not permit them to depart without leaving a hostage for their return.

When it came to be decided by the Portuguese who was to be the devoted person, (for, as they really had no intention of returning, the death of the hostage seemed inevitable,) Battel, as an Englishman, and, consequently, disliked, was at once selected. They left him with a musket and plenty of ammunition, engaging to return in two months with a reinforcement of a hundred men. As soon as this period had expired without the arrival of the Portuguese, Battel was led forth for execution; and though respited by the interference of the prince, yet he was so cruelly treated, and so harassed by the daily expectation of his fate, that he gladly seized an opportunity of escaping to the Giagas' camp. He hoped that they would travel so far to the west as to arrive at the seaside, where he might have the chance of meeting with some ship. With them he journeyed through the mountains of Kashindkabar, which, he says, are prodigiously high, and full of great mines of copper. The country round the Gonza he found extremely fruitful, and abounding in wild peacocks: a hundred tame peacocks were there kept at the grave of an old chieftain, and were esteemed sacred, being dedicated to his genius. Having arrived within three days' journey of Massangano, he contrived to escape from the Giagas, after having served with them eighteen months, during which time he was treated with the greatest honour, on account of his service with his musket.

On his return to the Portuguese colony, Battel was well received by the new governor, by whom he was promoted to the rank of sergeant. He served two years on the river Coanza, where the Portuguese had opened some silver mines, which were found afterwards to be not worth the trouble of working. At length, in 1602,

in the twelfth year of Battel's captivity, news was brought of the peace ratified between Spain and England. Battel accordingly petitioned for leave to return home: his request was granted at first, but afterwards refused.

When the triennial change of governors approached, Battel thought fit to absent himself for some days in the woods, in order that he might be included in the general pardon usually granted by a new governor to all fugitives. He stole from the town with his musket and ammunition and two negro boys, and concealed himself in the woods on the wayside for some days, till he should receive some tidings respecting the arrival of the new governor. He was informed, however, that no change was to take place that year; so that now he had no alternative left but to continue wandering in the woods, or else to return and suffer death, for this was his third time of deserting. He travelled to the lake of Kasansa, "where," he says, "is the greatest store of wild beasts of any place in Angola." Here he lived during six months on the flesh of buffaloes, deer, and other animals. He dried the flesh as he had seen practised by the Giagas, on a hurdle raised three feet from the ground, making a great fire underneath, and placing the flesh on green boughs and leaves, which keep down the smoke and heat. He at length grew weary of his solitary life, and exerted his ingenuity to contrive means of escape. In the lake of Kasansa were many small islands full of trees, called *Memba*, the wood of which is as soft and as light as cork. Of these trees he built a flat-bottomed boat, fastened together with wooden pegs. Of his blanket he made a sail; and, purchasing a knife from the negroes for his dried flesh, he fashioned three rude oars. Thus equipped, he embarked on the river Bengo, by which the lake discharges itself into the sea. When he reached the bar, the surf had nearly proved fatal to his ill-constructed boat. He escaped this danger, however, got out to sea, and was next day picked up by a pinnace, the master of which proved to be an old friend, with whom he had formerly made a voyage as mate.

Battel was left by him at the port of Loango, where he remained three years; being in great favour with the king, from his expertness in the chase. On his return to England he lived at Leigh in Essex, the place of his birth, and was a near neighbour of Purchas, who published the narrative of his singular adventures.

The Giagas, who are styled by Battel "the greatest cannibals in the world," are described by travellers in such horrid colours, that it is hard to give credit to the fidelity of the picture, notwithstanding the harmony which exists among the principal witnesses. They seem to be a nation living as outlaws, and who have formed into a sort of religious code the commission of all the atrocities most revolting to human nature. As war is their only occupation, they never rear their children, which are in consequence murdered as soon as born. Their tribes are recruited from the youth of the conquered nations, who soon grow enamoured of a wandering life and the indulgence of their fiercest passions.

Zingha, sister to the king of Matamba, a kingdom partially tinged with the character of the Giagas, came to Angola in 1622, to negotiate a treaty between her brother and the Portuguese government. She excited admiration, and even astonishment, at the strength of her understanding, and the dignity of her demeanour. While at Angola, she became, apparently at least, a convert to Christianity: but, on her return home, the dissensions of her family afforded her an opportunity of ascending the throne of Matamba; and finding that an attachment to her new religion would weaken her influence over her subjects, she embraced the system of the Giagas, whose friendship she cultivated; zealously endeavoured to surpass them in barbarity; imposed on them by a pretence of supernatural powers; and finally succeeded in being elected their queen. At the head of this fierce nation she was, for eight and twenty years, the terror of western Africa; yet, during all this time, she assured the missionaries that she was a Christian at heart, and that she conformed to the Giaga customs

merely from political necessity. At the mature age of sixty-eight her zeal for Christianity revived; and in 1654, missionaries proceeded to Matamba, at her request, to instruct herself and her subjects in the doctrines of Christianity. When they were introduced to her presence, the royal penitent fell prostrate on the ground before them, and welcomed them with a flood of tears. At the desire of the missionaries she immediately commenced the erection of a church. A large proportion of the people followed the example of the queen and her grandees, and allowed themselves to be baptised. Proclamation was made "that no person should invoke or offer sacrifices to the devil or idols of any description; that infants should no longer be exposed in the woods, to be devoured by wild beasts; and that no one, under pain of death, should eat human flesh." She gave a farther proof of her obedience to the missionaries, in consenting to marry at the age of seventy-five. On one occasion, the obstinate refusal of the missionaries to bury a favourite old warrior in holy ground almost drove her to relapse. She prepared to inter him according to the native rites, which prescribed that a number of human beings should be interred along with him. The timely appearance of the missionaries hindered the completion of these fatal ceremonies, and spared the queen the pain and humiliation of a second repentance. She continued to profess the Christian religion till her death, which took place towards the close of the year 1663.

In the infancy of political science, the establishment of exclusive companies was looked upon to be the encouragement of trade; and while capital existed only in small quantity, this grand error might be supported by plausible arguments. In 1588, queen Elizabeth, wishing to promote the commerce with Africa, granted a patent to a company of merchants in Exeter to carry on the trade to Senegal and Gambia. The first voyages of this company appear to have been attended with success. The English reported on their return, "that one bar of iron would be more welcome to the natives than

forty Portingals." But as monopoly is of a languid constitution, this trade does not appear to have ever grown to considerable importance. As the intercourse, however, increased between the traders and the natives, the former received accounts respecting that which in every rude age is the primary object of research—gold. They were told that the Moors, travelling over a great expanse of desert, arrived at the countries of Timbuctoo and Gago, where gold was abundant. In 1594, an English merchant in Morocco wrote to his friend in London, to inform him that a Moor, employed by the Portuguese as their agent, had just returned from Gago with thirty mules laden with gold. He says also, that the Moors took Timbuctoo, and imposed on the inhabitants an annual tribute of sixty quintals of gold. "The report is," says the writer of the letter, "that Mahomet bringeth with him such an infinite treasure as I never heard of: it doth appear that they have more gold than any other part of the world beside. The king of Morocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he keep this country." *

Rumours of this kind were sure to give birth to spirited enterprise; and at the beginning of the seventeenth century some attempts were made to reach the interior of the African continent. In 1618, a company was formed for the express purpose of penetrating to the country of gold and to Timbuctoo, in which city the wealth of Africa was supposed to be concentrated. George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, was sent with a small vessel of 120 tons, to carry these views into effect. His instructions were to sail as far as possible up the river Gambia, and leaving the ship in a good harbour, to prosecute his researches up the river in boats. This he performed; but in his absence the Portuguese seized his ship and massacred the crew. Intelligence of these misfortunes having reached home, a small vessel was despatched to the aid of Thompson: but her crew were so weakened by disease and accidents on their arrival at the

* Hakluyt.

Gambia, that Thompson sent them back with letters, and a demand for a second reinforcement. In consequence, two ships were sent out under the command of captain Richard Jobson, a resolute and intelligent man. On his arrival at the river, he found that Thompson had penetrated as far as Tenda, much farther than any European was known to have reached before. His object in seeking that place was to have an interview with Buckar Sano, the principal native merchant of the Senegambia: here he met his death from his own followers; and as the circumstances which led to it were learned only from those who were accessories in the murder, it is not surprising that it should be ascribed to his own arrogance and misconduct. Jobson left his vessel at Cassan, on the Gambia. On ascending the river in boats, he found his merchandise in comparatively little request, and repented that he had not laden his boats with salt. He met soon after with Brewer, who had accompanied Thompson to Tenda, and remained with the English factory established up the river. He also filled Jobson with "golden hopes." Wherever the English stopped, the negro kings, with their wives and daughters, came down to the river side to buy, or rather to beg for, trinkets, and still more for brandy. On Christmas day, the *Ferambra*, a negro prince, a great friend of the English, sent them a load of elephants' flesh. After a navigation in boats of nearly thirty days, they reached the rapids of Barraconda, the highest point to which the tide flows. The stream being now always against them, and the channel rocky, they were unable to proceed by night; and during the day the scorching heat of the sun rendered it impossible to make great exertions. Above Barraconda the country is an uninhabited desert. The river was filled with "a world of sea horses, whose paths, as they came on shore to feed, were beaten with tracks as large as a London highway." The crocodiles were also so numerous, that the negroes durst not venture into the water. Elephants grazed among the sedges on the river side. Great troops of

baboons occupied the woods, and threw sticks at the travellers, seeming at the same time to converse among themselves.

On the 26th of January, Jobson arrived at Tenda, and despatched a messenger to Buckar Sano, who soon after arrived with a stock of provisions, which he disposed of at a reasonable price. With the exchange of presents, and many ridiculous ceremonies, he was proclaimed the white man's *alchade*, or mercantile agent. This compliment was repaid afterwards, when Jobson visited the king, on which occasion a ceremony was performed, which was interpreted to mean that his majesty ceded all his dominions to the English; "which bounty (observes Jobson) could require no less than two or three bottles of my best brandy, although the English were not sixpence the better for the grant."

At Tenda, as elsewhere, salt was the article in chief demand. Iron wares also met with a ready sale, though these were supplied at a cheaper rate by a neighbouring people. Buckar Sano's sword blade, and the brass bracelets of his wife, appeared to Jobson to be specimens of as good workmanship as could be seen in England. Our traveller cautiously abstained from mentioning gold; but Buckar Sano, who knew perhaps what Europeans most coveted, told them, that if he continued his trade to Tenda, he could dispose of all his cargoes for gold. The negro merchant affirmed that he had been four times at a town in which the houses were all covered with gold, and distant a journey of four moons. Jobson was informed, that six days' journey from St. John's Mart (as he named the factory at Tenda), was a town called *Mombar*, where there was much trade for gold. Three stages farther was *Jaye*, whence the gold came. A people called Arabeks were the travelling merchants of that country.

Jobson wisely adapted his carriage to the negro customs: he danced and sung with them, and gaily entered into all their amusements. He remarks that the water of the Gambia above Barraconda has such a strong scent

of musk, from the multitude of crocodiles that infest that part of the river, as to be unfit for use. The torpedo abounds in the river about Cassan, and at first caused his crew not a little terror and amazement. Jobson's discoveries did not reach as far as those of Thompson, who had penetrated even to Jaye. But many years elapsed before travellers passed the limits at which he arrived. He again repeats the story of a silent traffic carried on in the interior between the Moors and a negro nation who would not allow themselves to be seen. "The reason," he adds, "why these negroes conceal themselves is, that they have lips of an unnatural size, hanging down half way over their breasts, and which they are obliged to rub with salt continually to keep them from putrefaction." Thus even the great salt trade of the interior of Africa is not wholly untinged with fable. In 1723 captain Stibbs made another attempt to ascend the Gambia. The natives were every where disposed to carry on trade, and in some places *saphies* or charms were hung at the river side to draw white men on shore. Stibbs was not able to penetrate beyond Tenda, which continued for many years to be the limit of geographical discovery in that quarter.

The Normans pretend to have carried on a trade of great antiquity with western Africa. It is said that they visited the coast as far as Sierra Leone, as early as the year 1364. This claim, however, to a trade with the coast of Africa at an age long prior to that in which those seas are supposed to have been first navigated by Europeans, rests on documentary evidence, destroyed, it is said, in the fire which consumed the town hall of Dieppe in the year 1694. These early navigations may therefore be disregarded, since the proof of them is no longer in existence. But it is certain that the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen long retained exclusive possession of the African trade, and that they had settlements at the mouth of the Senegal in 1626. In 1664, was erected the first of those royal and exclusive companies, five of which in succession endeavoured to carry on the African

trade, until, by their ruin, it was found to be better policy to leave it perfectly free and unshackled. But although the French companies did not derive much advantage from their patents, they entered upon their speculations with so much ardour as to add not a little to the stock of information; and until the time of the African association, the French held the foremost rank in the career of African discovery. In 1637, Jannequin, a young man of some rank and fortune, impelled by curiosity and the love of travel, undertook a voyage up the Senegal. He advanced no farther up the river than the district called the *Terrier Rouge*. He found the banks of the river thickly covered with mangoes. The forests were full of echoes, occasioned by their length and profound solitude; "which echoes, on sounding of their trumpets, joined to the prospect of the banks ranged with fair palm-trees, whose shade promoted the refreshing breeze, was not the smallest pleasure that they tasted in these sun-burnt countries." The principal kings of the country, according to Jannequin, are the Damel king of Lybia, the Brak king of the Foolies, the Kamalingo chief of the Moors of Barbary, and the grand Samba Lamma king of the Moors and Berbers bordering on Timbuctoo. His geography of the interior rested more on fantastical theories than on any information he had received from the natives. "All the kingdoms before mentioned," he says, "are watered by the Niger, which, having crossed the kingdom of Timbuctoo, divides into three branches. The first passes into Barbary under the tropic of Cancer (a description which it is not easy to understand); the second falls into the sea between the kingdoms of Barbary and Senegal; the third, whose course is longer than that of the other two, enters the sea near the coast of Guinea." The opinion that the Niger and Senegal were identical was prevalent in his day, and continued in vogue in the beginning of the last century.

Between the years 1697 and 1715, much information respecting the country on the Senegal was procured by

the activity of Brue, who, during that period, had a large share in the administration of the affairs of the French African companies. In one of his numerous journeys he ascended the Senegal as far as Galam; and established a fort or factory at Dramanet, a populous and commercial town. The inhabitants carried on a trade as far as Timbuctoo, which they described as situated 500 leagues in the interior. They imported from it gold and ivory, and slaves from Bambarra, which was represented by them as an extensive region between Timbuctoo and Cassan, barren but very populous. The kingdom of Cassan was said to be formed into a sort of island, or rather peninsula, by the branches of the Senegal; gold was so abundant there, that the metal often appeared on the surface of the ground. From these circumstances, it may be concluded that Cassan was in some degree confounded with Bambouk, which borders it on the south. It had long been the ambition of the French to find access to this golden country; but the jealousy of the native merchants presented an obstacle that could not be easily surmounted. At length, encouraged by Brue, a young man named Compagnon ventured to brave the dangers of the journey; he passed the dreaded boundary, and entered Bambouk under the protection of a native prince, whose favour he had procured. His appearance in that country caused, nevertheless, a mingled sensation of terror and amazement. His prudent and conciliatory demeanour at length won the favour and confidence of the native chiefs; and Compagnon was enabled in the course of a year and a half to travel to the most important districts of Bambouk. He still found it difficult, nevertheless, to procure specimens of the *ghingan* or golden earth, which he wanted only, he affirmed, to make a few tobacco pipes. The representations of Compagnon inflamed the desire of the French company to establish their power in the country of Bambouk. But such a measure required more force than they could bring into operation; and Fort St.

Joseph continued to be the farthest limit of the French establishments on the Senegal.

On the south-eastern coast of Africa the Portuguese very soon established their power; but as they made no efforts, or very feeble ones, to reach the interior, geography has derived but little benefit from the extension of their colonies: they overlooked the advantageous position of the Cape of Good Hope, and allowed the Dutch, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to make that settlement, which, in the hands of the English, promises to become a source of civilisation to the savage inhabitants of southern Africa.

In this, and the two preceding chapters, it has been seen by what steps European nations came to fix themselves permanently on those portions of the globe with which but a few years before they had little or no acquaintance. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced a number of eminent travellers, whose writings may be still consulted with pleasure and utility. But to attempt to analyse or review the narratives of even those who are considered by the strictest criticism to hold the first rank in merit, would lead us far beyond the limits prescribed to this work. Besides, to trace the progress of geographical knowledge in minute detail, to point out what is due to various travellers, and to reconcile their differences, would be a labour equally difficult and tedious. It is sufficient for our purpose to attend only to those individual exertions and historical events which have tended unremittingly to advance and to consolidate our knowledge of the globe.

CHAP. XVI.

VOYAGES TO THE SOUTH SEA.

VOYAGE OF ALCAZAVA.—HE SENDS TO EXPLORE THE INTERIOR OF PATAGONIA.—MUTINY OF THE CREW.—FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION.—VOYAGE OF CAMARGO.—PERSEVERANCE OF LADRILLERO.—DISCOVERIES OF VILLALOBOS.—HE ATTEMPTS TO FIX A COLONY AT THE PHILIPPINES.—NEW GUINEA.—LEGASPI DESPATCHED TO THE PHILIPPINES.—VOYAGE OF URDANETA.—DISCOVERIES OF JUAN FERNANDEZ.—NEW ZEALAND.—FIRST VOYAGE OF MENDANA.—HE DISCOVERS THE SALOMON ISLANDS.—SECOND VOYAGE.—THE MARQUESAS AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLES DISCOVERED.—SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.—HE BEHOLDS THE SOUTH SEA FROM THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.—BOLD ATTEMPT OF JOHN OXNAM.—HIS UNFORTUNATE END.—DRAKE'S EXPEDITION.—THE PATAGONIANS.—EXECUTION OF DOUGHTIE.—VOYAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.—DRAKE DRIVEN FAR TO THE SOUTH.—HIS SUCCESSES ON THE COAST OF PERU.—TAKES A SHIP LADEN WITH TREASURE.—SEEKS A PASSAGE BY THE NORTH.—REACHES A HIGH LATITUDE.—NEW ALBION.—THE COUNTRY CEDED TO DRAKE.—HE SAILS TO THE MOLUCCAS.—IS WELL RECEIVED BY THE KING OF TERNATE.—CRAB ISLAND.—NARROW ESCAPE.—SAFE RETURN OF DRAKE.—HOW RECEIVED AT HOME.—ADVENTURES OF WILLIAM CARVER.

THE ardour of discovery which had prompted the court of Spain to despatch the well-prepared armaments of Magellan and Loyasa, was much abated by the indifferent success of these expeditions. The embarrassments of European politics, and the exhaustion of his treasury, prevented the emperor from taking energetic measures to extend or develope his distant possessions; and notwithstanding the difficulty with which the Spanish settlements in South America communicated overland, the attempts made by the government to open the navigation and establish an intercourse by the Straits of Magellan were few and ineffectual.

In 1534, Alcazava with two ships attempted to reach Peru by this course. On arriving at the western entrance of the strait, he saw a cross, supposed to have

been erected there by Magellan; and the remains of a wreck, probably of a ship of Loyasa's fleet. The severity of the weather, and the want of water, caused much discontent among the crews; and Alcazava, with a facility which eventually proved fatal to him, yielded to the importunities of his officers, and returned to the port *De Leones y Lobos* (of (sea) Lions and Wolves, *i.e.* seals), on the coast of Patagonia. To employ the men, he planned an expedition up the country; but as the weak state of his health did not permit him to conduct it himself, he placed it under the command of Roderigo de la Isla. After a march of twenty-five leagues, the exploring party crossed a fine river, to which they gave the name of the Guadalquivir. When they had penetrated about a hundred leagues into the interior, and had been absent from the ships above three weeks, they found their slender stock of provisions totally consumed. Their Indian guides still tempted them on, assuring them that at no great distance was a populous country, the inhabitants of which wore on their arms large ornaments of gold; but necessity compelled the Spaniards to return. The most shocking extremities of famine were now added to the toils of a wearisome journey. Many perished on the route; and when the famished remnant reached the shore, what was their grief and horror, to find that they were no longer looked upon as friends by those who had remained in the ships, and who, having mutinied and put their commander to death, were preparing to depart, as soon as the weather would permit, to commence a life of piracy. For three weeks Roderigo de la Isla and his unhappy comrades had to endure the miseries of hunger and destitution on shore, at a short distance from the ships. But some of the mutineers at length relented at the sight of so much suffering; they opened their eyes to the heinousness of their guilt and the danger of their situation; and a re-action of feeling taking place among the crews, the ringleaders were given up to De la Isla, who put them to death, took the command of the ships, and returned to Spain. This unfortunate and

disgraceful expedition was succeeded, in 1539, by that of Camargo, who, proceeding from the river La Plata with three ships, attempted to pass through the strait into the Pacific Ocean. He succeeded with his own vessel in reaching Peru: one of his ships was lost in the strait; and the third, after discovering a number of islands, inlets, and harbours, which delayed her course, was obliged to return to the La Plata. This was the last attempt made by the Spaniards for many years to examine and improve the navigation between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In 1557, indeed, Ladrillero sailed from Chili with two ships to survey the strait from the east: a mutiny broke out in his crews, which he with difficulty quelled; one of his ships parted company in a storm, and returned to Chili. He, however, resolutely continued his voyage, and diligently examined all the windings of the strait, and returned with only one Spanish seaman and a negro to manœuvre his vessel; the rest of his crew having perished from want, fatigue, and the severity of the climate.

The claim of the Spaniards to the Moluccas was definitively renounced by the emperor in 1529, for a sum of money; but he did not give up his pretensions to the numerous islands which Spanish navigators had discovered to the east of the line of demarcation now confirmed to the Portuguese. In consequence, Rui Lopez de Villalobos was despatched in 1542, with six ships, to make a settlement in some of the islands discovered by Magellan. This voyage was productive of a considerable increase in the geographical knowledge of the Pacific Ocean; but it is difficult at the present day to trace with certainty and precision the course held by the Spanish navigator. Villalobos discovered a cluster of islands, which he named *Del Coral* (Coral Islands), and which are supposed to be a part of the *New Philippines*. Farther to the west he found *Los Jardines* or the Garden Islands; and then the *Matalotes* and the *Arrecifes* or Reefs, which are probably the Pelew Islands of modern maps. Arrived at Mindanao, he took pos-

session of it in the name of the emperor, and called it *Cæsarea Caroli;* but he subsequently named the whole group of islands to which it belongs, *Los Filippinas,* the Philippines, in honour of prince Philip; a denomination which geography has preserved. In like manner the group of islands south of the Ladrones, which received in 1705, when Philip V. was on the throne of Spain, the name of the *New Philippines,* had been previously called the *Carolines* (from Charles II.), by Lazeano, the original discoverer of part of the group.

The expedition of Villalobos failed in its principal object: the natives of the Philippine Islands seemed well acquainted with the character and intentions of their visiters, and obstinately refused to maintain any friendly intercourse with them. The Spaniards, suffering continually from want of provisions, were at length compelled to throw themselves on the mercy of the Portuguese. Villalobos died at Amboyna: his companions, after many difficulties, reached Goa, whence they returned to Europe. The St. Juan, the smallest vessel of his fleet, twice attempted to return to New Spain, but was driven back on each occasion by the constancy of the easterly winds. She touched at many new islands, and sailed several leagues along the coast of a low and fertile country, to which the Spaniards, not aware that it had been previously discovered, gave the name of *New Guinea,* which it still retains.

The failure of Villalobos, being imputed to mismanagement, did not deter the Spaniards from their intention of making a settlement at the Philippine Islands. For this purpose Miguel Lopez de Legaspi was despatched from the port of Navidad, in New Spain, with four ships, in the year 1564. Andres de Urdaneta, who, when a young man, had sailed with Loyasa, but had since retired into monastic life, and whose reputation as an able navigator and cosmographer was very high, was prevailed on, by the express desire of the king, to accompany the expedition. It was the wish of Urdaneta to establish a colony on New Guinea, which he supposed

to be a part of a great southern continent stretching, without interruption, from the Indian seas to Tierra del Fuego, on the south of Magellan's Straits. The Philippines, however, had been fixed on by the Spanish government. Legaspi had a prosperous voyage, in the course of which he discovered some islands, which he named *Los Barbudos*, from the long beards of the inhabitants. He appears also to have fallen in with one of the Marianes; but the difficulty of following the tracks of the early navigators, and the inaccuracy of their observations to determine their geographical position, may be estimated from the circumstance, that the four pilots of Legaspi's fleet differed from each other in their reckonings not less than 400 leagues. Legaspi succeeded in planting a colony at Zebu, where he took inhuman vengeance for the violence done to Magellan forty years before. Some years later he conquered Manilla, which thenceforth became the capital of the Spanish possessions in the Philippine Islands. The colony being established, Urdaneta, agreeably to his instructions, set sail across the Pacific for New Spain; an attempt in which every preceding navigator had been foiled. He had the boldness and sagacity to hold a northerly course, in order to fall in with westerly winds, and actually reached the latitude of 43° north. By this masterly navigation he succeeded, without any struggle, in returning to New Spain. The year following, a ship sailed to the Philippines from New Spain; and in 1567, two vessels returned by the course pointed out by Urdaneta. From that time forth voyages across the Pacific were annually repeated by the beaten tracks.

A similar discovery in the art of navigation was made about the same time in the Southern Pacific. Seamen had hitherto found it nearly as difficult to sail from north to south along the coast of Peru, as to navigate the Pacific, between the tropics, from west to east. But Juan Fernandez discovered, that by running westward to a great distance from land, southerly winds were to be met with, which, continuing to the latitude of variable

or of westerly winds, gave the mariner the opportunity of making the land to the south, which he could not have done had he remained near shore. In the course of one of his voyages, this enterprising seaman discovered, at the distance of 110 leagues from the coast of Chili, the small island which bears his name, and which has obtained a pleasing celebrity as the spot innabited for four years by the shipwrecked mariner Alexander Selkirk, on whose simple narrative Defoe founded the admirable Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Juan Fernandez is also thought by many to have discovered New Zealand; but the great land, or *tierra firma,* which he is reported to have observed, does not appear to have been situated so far to the west of Chili; while, at the same time, the Southern Ocean has not yet been so perfectly explored as to compel us to refuse credit to his narrative.

After the settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands, and the consequent increase of navigation in the Pacific Ocean, it might naturally be expected that numerous geographical discoveries would be made in a sea so thickly strewed with islands. It is possible that voyages of discovery were made by the Spaniards, the accounts of which have never been published; and there is reason to believe that the name of the Salomon Islands had been applied to some islands in the Pacific previous to the discovery of the group which at present bears the name.* In 1567, Alvaro de Mendana sailed from Callao on a voyage of discovery, which seems to have had in view the examination of some islands previously descried. In the course of this voyage he discovered the *Salomon Islands,* the island of *Santa Cruz,* the group of *San Francisco,* and several others. Hakluyt informs us "that the isles of Salomon were so named by the discoverer, to the end that the Spaniards, supposing them to be those isles from whence Salomon fetched gold, might be the more desirous to go and inhabit the same." Yet the discoveries made by Mendana in this voyage do not appear to have excited at first any

* Burney's Voyages in the South Sea, vol. i. p. 277.

uncommon degree of interest or expectation in the minds of the Spaniards in Peru. It is certain that the Salomon Islands were not again visited by Europeans till two centuries after their discovery, notwithstanding the romantic ideas entertained respecting their great riches; and we have but an imperfect acquaintance with them even at the present day. Nearly thirty years elapsed before Mendana departed a second time from Peru to continue his interesting researches. In this voyage he discovered the *Marquesas*, the group of *San Bernardo*, and that afterwards named by Carteret *Queen Charlotte's Islands*. He sought in vain the Salomon Islands, but from the errors of his reckoning was unable to find them; and relinquished the search when not more than forty leagues distant from San Christoval, the island of the group to which his views were chiefly directed. His attempts to plant a colony in Santa Cruz failed from the tyranny of the Spaniards, and consequent hostility of the natives. Mendana (who ranks high as a discoverer, but not as a navigator or commander) died at this island; and the voyage, though rich in geographical results, was otherwise unfortunate.

But previous to the second voyage of Mendana the attention of the Spaniards of Peru was diverted from researches which had for their object the gratification of curiosity or the establishment of new settlements, by dangers which threatened them at home. They found themselves attacked in a manner most unexpected; and while they indulged in dreams of security, their treasures were carried off from before their eyes. Sir Francis Drake had entered the Pacific Ocean, which they deemed all their own, by the Straits of Magellan, the navigation of which they had abandoned in despair, and his appearance caused them no less terror than surprise.

This extraordinary man was born of humble parents at Tavistock in Devonshire. At an early age he went to sea; and the master of the bark whom he served, leaving him the little vessel at his death, laid the foundation of his future fortune. Young Drake accompanied

sir John Hawkins in his expedition to the Gulf of Mexico in 1567. Here he lost all that he was worth, and returned with nothing but experience and an implacable animosity to the Spaniards. In 1573 he took the command of an expedition of two ships, fitted out to intercept the treasure which was said to be carried from Panama across the Isthmus of Darien. In his excursion over the isthmus, "he came," says his historian, "to a goodly and great high tree, in which they had cut and made divers steps to ascend near to the top, where they had made a convenient bower, wherein ten or twelve men might easily sit, and from thence we might see the Atlantic Ocean, whence we came from, and the South Atlantic we so much desired. North and south of this tree they had felled certain trees, that the prospect might be clearer." * Though Drake failed in the immediate object of this expedition, he succeeded in amassing a great deal of wealth, which he spent with characteristic generosity; and is even said to have aided the earl of Essex, at that time engaged in reducing the Irish to obedience, with three frigates equipped at his own expense. A man of so bold a stamp and so popular a temper was not likely to be long without employment in an age and country in which there at that time existed such a thirst for adventure.

But before we proceed to relate the exploits of Drake in the South Sea, it will be necessary to give a short account of one who preceded him in that field of adventure. Among those who accompanied Drake to the tree in the Isthmus of Darien above alluded to, in order to enjoy from it the alluring prospect of the Southern Ocean, was one John Oxnam, or Oxenham, who appears to have been a favourite of the captain, and who shortly after returned to try his fortune in a hazardous scheme of privateering. In 1575, he arrived in the Gulf of Mexico, in a small vessel of 120 tons, and with only seventy men. Hearing that, since the attempt of Drake, the treasure of the Spaniards was strongly guarded, he

* Sir F. Drake revived. 1653.

devised a scheme of action equally bold and original. Drawing the ship on shore, he covered her with boughs of trees, buried all the guns except two small pieces, and leaving one man as a watch, he marched with the rest into the interior. He soon arrived at a river flowing towards the south, where he built a pinnace forty-five feet in length; and embarking in this little vessel, he went down the stream into the South Sea. He immediately directed his course to the Pearl Islands, captured a bark containing 60,000 pesos of gold, and another from Lima with 100,000 pesos of silver. With this spoil he returned to the river; but here a tedious dispute arose amongst his men respecting the division of the treasure. The Spaniards, in the mean time, pursued Oxenham and his companions with four ships; and coming to the river which he had ascended, arrived at the place where the treasure had been buried, which they hastened to carry off, well satisfied with their success. The English, returning to the spot, and finding their treasure gone, followed with impetuosity, regardless of the inequality of numbers. In consequence they fell into an ambush, and were totally defeated. A party of Spaniards soon after discovered Oxenham's ship, with the stores and ordnance, which he had taken such pains to conceal. The English who survived this train of misfortunes lived for some time among the Indians in the woods, and employed themselves in building canoes, in which they hoped to effect their escape. But they were at length taken by the Spaniards, and carried to Panama; where Oxenham and all his companions, with the exception of five boys, were put to death. Such was the unfortunate end of this bold adventurer, who was the first Englishman that ever navigated the Pacific Ocean.

But to return to Drake.—His friends equipped for him a squadron, with which he was to achieve his grand schemes of conquest in the South Sea. The fleet placed under his command consisted of five vessels, the largest of which, the Pelican, was of only 100 tons burthen. The crews of all the ships amounted to 164 men. It

was given out that the expedition was bound for Alexandria. On the 13th of December, 1577, Drake sailed on his memorable voyage from Plymouth. Between Mogadore and Cape Blanco, on the coast of Africa, he captured several small vessels, which he dismissed, having first emptied them of every thing that his fleet required. On the 14th of April he arrived in the river La Plata; and anchoring eighteen leagues within its mouth, he employed the crews in killing seals, "which are found to be good meat for the present, and provision for the future." In the habitations of the natives they found a great quantity of birds dried for food, and among them fifty ostriches, whose legs "were as large as reasonable legs of mutton." Here the Swan, a vessel of fifty tons, being found too weak for the voyage, was broken up for fire-wood. Respecting the inhabitants of this coast there is great diversity in the accounts: by some they are said to be men of mean stature, but well limbed; while others represent them as giants, "to whom the tallest English were but pigmies." They seemed particularly delighted with the sound of the trumpet; and, while on terms of friendship with the crews, danced most cheerfully with the seamen.

On the 20th of June the expedition entered Port St. Julian, the harbour in which Magellan's fleet had formerly wintered. A gibbet was seen on the shore, a monument of that commander's severity. It seemed ominous of an event which here took place, and which casts a shade over Drake's reputation. Mr. Thomas Doughtie, a man of eminent abilities, and who was second in command in the fleet, was here tried on some vague charges of disaffection, and suffered sentence of death. The inadequate explanation given of this affair by the historians of the voyage leaves room to suspect that Drake was actuated in his persecution of his able colleague by some feelings of personal hostility. The fleet was now reduced to three vessels; and on the 17th of August, 1578, he left Port St. Julian, where it had remained in shelter for two months.

Drake reached the Straits of Magellan without difficulty, and passed through them in the comparatively short space of seventeen days. He found in them numerous good harbours, with abundance of fresh water; but, from the great depth of the sea, it was hard to meet with commodious anchorage. The land on both sides was high, and the cold severe, but nevertheless a multitude of evergreens and other trees show that the climate is not adverse to vegetable life. He met in the strait with Indians of small stature, with canoes beautifully made of the bark of trees sewed together with thongs of seal-skin. Their houses were constructed with poles covered over with skins. These Indians had formidable knives made of enormous muscle-shells twenty inches long, with which they were able to cut not only the hardest woods, but even bones. The western mouth of the strait was found by Drake to be formed not by continuous land, but a close archipelago; it appeared to him also difficult to be navigated, not only from the number and intricacy of its channels, but also from a tempestuous climate, which seems to characterise that portion of the globe. A violent gale drove his fleet 200 leagues to the west, and, according to some accounts, to so high a latitude that the night was of only two hours' duration. The Marigold, a bark of thirty tons, was here parted by the gale, and does not appear to have been heard of after. Drake and Winter, the captains of the two remaining vessels, at length found shelter near the western entrance of the strait, in a bay which, from what afterwards took place, was named *The Bay of the Parting of Friends*. Here the admiral's cable broke; and being again driven to sea, he ran still farther to the south, and "fell in with the uttermost part of land towards the south pole; which uttermost cape or headland of all these islands stands nearly in the fifty-sixth degree, without which there is no main nor island to be seen to the southwards, but the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a large and free scope." Winter entered the straits, where his men recovered

their health, and returned safely to England. A shallop with eight men, the fortune of which shall be narrated hereafter, had been despatched home with intelligence of the fleet's having passed the straits.

To the islands among which Drake found shelter he gave the name of the *Elizabethides:* here he saw a great number of natives plying across the channels in canoes, the children hanging in skins on their mothers' backs. The storm which had driven him here continued without abatement fifty-one days. At length he departed "from the southernmost part of the world known or likely to be known."* Towards the end of November he anchored at the island of Mocha, on the coast of Chili. With the assistance of an Indian pilot he entered the port of Valparaiso and plundered a large ship, in which he found, besides much Chili wine, 60,000 pesos of gold. He then pillaged the town, and carried off Juan Griego, an experienced pilot, to Lima. At the watering place at Tarapaca, some of the English going ashore found a Spaniard asleep, with silver bars equal in value to 4000 ducats lying beside him; farther on a Spaniard and an Indian were taken, driving six lamas laden each with a hundred pounds' weight of silver. Our adventurers imagined that this country was so rich, that every hundred weight of common earth yielded twenty-five shillings of pure silver; and the success with which they pillaged certainly corresponded with their extravagant expectations. Again, at Arica, they seized two ships laden with the precious metals. Messengers had been already despatched from Valparaiso to Peru with an account of what had occurred there; but so imperfect were the communications by land, that Drake far outstripped the couriers. On the 15th of February he entered the port of Callao, in which he found seventeen ships, some of them laden with silver; here also he received the important intelligence that the Cacafuego, a large vessel laden with treasure, had sailed about a fortnight before for Panama. He immediately set all

* The World encompassed.

the ships in the harbour adrift, lest any attempt might be made to pursue him; and crowding all sail, proceeded towards the north, his ship being towed whenever the wind fell. The Spaniards in the mean time armed two vessels, and went in pursuit of him with 200 men, but their hasty equipment was forced to return for want of provisions. At Payta, Drake learned that the Cacafuego was only two days' sail before him; and on the 1st of March a sail was seen four leagues ahead: this proved to be the treasure-laden ship, which he soon approached, and captured without trouble.

Drake immediately turned his course towards the west, and sailed two whole days from the land before he proceeded to rifle his prize. The exulting adventurers then took from her thirteen chests of ryals of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver bullion; in all worth about 360,000 pesos, or 150,000*l.* sterling. Their success was now complete, their thirst of plunder satisfied, and their hopes were wholly bent on a safe and expeditious voyage home. In this situation, Drake adopted a resolution which vividly represents the vigour of his mind and his intrepid courage. He determined to seek a passage back to Europe by the north-east, in which direction the imperfect geographical knowledge of that age allowed him to expect that he might find a passage or strait conducting into the Atlantic. At the isle of Canno, in 10° north latitude, his ship was laid ashore, cleaned, and repaired; the stores being removed into a small Spanish vessel which had been opportunely seized a short time before. In this vessel was found a letter from the king of Spain to the governor of the Philippine Islands, and, what proved an acquisition of much greater importance, several charts of the course across the Pacific Ocean.

As soon as our hero's vessel was refitted, he stood out to sea, and sailed north-west 1400 leagues without once seeing land. On reaching the latitude of 42° north he found the cold so intense that the meat was all frozen: he persisted nevertheless in his design of

seeking a north-east passage. In latitude 48° land was descried, and our mariners were not a little surprised to find that the American continent extended so far towards the west. But as they approached the shore, the cold grew more intolerable; and Drake was obliged to renounce his hopes of solving the most interesting geographical problem of that day, respecting a northern communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to proceed southwards. Between the parallels of 48° and 38°, high mountains were seen extending parallel to the shore and covered with snow. A commodious harbour was at length found; and as the ship had sprung a leak at sea, it was deemed expedient to anchor within it close to the shore, and, landing the stores and men, to make the necessary repairs.

The English had not been here many hours when the natives made their appearance, crowding to the sea-side with manifest astonishment to view the strangers. One of them even ventured to approach the ship in a canoe; and while paddling towards it he at the same time pronounced an oration with a ludicrous solemnity of manner, and with so vehement a rapidity as to be sometimes wholly out of breath. This he performed twice, returning each time to the shore: but the ceremony did not end here, for he made the same speech a third time, approaching the ship closer than before; and then, by means of a long pole, he presented to those on board neat bunches of black feathers, and a basket containing an herb, which he called *tabah*. The friendship thus contracted between the English and the natives was never violated, during their subsequent intercourse, by treachery on the one side or tyrannical violence on the other. The Indians seemed by no means insensible to the rigours of their climate; though wrapped in warm furs, they were always shivering with the cold, and never allowed an opportunity to escape of sheltering themselves under English clothing. Their habitations were dug in the earth, and roofed with boughs of trees covered over with earth—an aperture at the top serving

at once as door and chimney. They appeared to have plenty of food; were active and well made, and of an open, friendly disposition. Drake, though he employed no arts to win them, behaved towards them with the frank kindness of one who is superior to fear and naturally humane. On one occasion they showed symptoms of general grief, as if some national calamity had befallen them; and Drake, feeling an honest sympathy with their distress, of which he was unable to comprehend the cause, commanded his whole company to join in prayer. The natives, ignorant what this grave proceeding meant, looked on with wonder and respectful attention; but when they heard the men join all their voices to sing the psalms, they were unable to contain their ecstasy, and loudly called for a repetition of the pleasure, with cries of *Gnaah, gnaah!* The *hioh*, or king of the country, after a little time paid a visit to the English. His arrival at their encampment was ushered in by long speeches, delivered with much earnestness by certain orators; and at the conclusion of every sentence, the surrounding multitude shouted *Oh! oh!* as if to signify their concurrence with what had been expressed. The hioh then approached Drake, and putting on his head a caul, ornamented with chains of bone such as he wore himself, saluted him *hioh*. This ceremony, the English, according to the system of European pride, interpreted to mean the cession of his dominions into their hands. Drake made a short excursion into the country, during which he saw numerous herds of fat deer, and a peculiar species of rabbit or marmot, with which naturalists are still but little acquainted. The ship was now ready for sea, and he weighed anchor on the 17th of July, having remained here above a month; but before his departure he erected a column, and fixed a brass plate on it, with an inscription bearing the name and arms of the queen. To this country he gave the name of *New Albion*.

As the wind blew freshly from the north-west, it was resolved to steer for the Moluccas; the danger of meet-

ing with the Spaniards, together with the hazards of those stormy seas, rendering it less advisable to return by the Straits of Magellan. For sixty-eight days no land was seen; at length, on the 30th of September, the ship arrived at some islands which, from the pilfering propensity of the natives, the seamen called the *Islands of Thieves*. These are, probably, a part of the Pelew Islands. Drake was well received by the king of Ternate, who offered to reserve to the English the exclusive right of trading with his island. He next visited the eastern coast of Celebes; and finding, in his course southward, a small uninhabited island with a good harbour, he remained there a month to repair the ship. The island was one continued wood, the trees being remarkably tall and straight, without any branches, except at the top: among them were multitudes of bats of enormous size. The woods were also filled with land-crabs, or, as they are described, "a kind of cray-fish of such a size that one was sufficient to satisfy four hungry men, and were very good meat: they seem to be utter strangers to the sea; living always on land, where they work themselves earths, or rather dig huge caves under the roots of the largest trees, where they lodge by companies together."

Our adventurers had not left this island long when the ship stuck fast upon a sunken rock: all means were tried to get her off without effect; three tons of cloves and eight guns were thrown overboard to no purpose, and their loss seemed inevitable, when, the wind abating, the ship fell to one side, and instead of sinking, as was expected, floated off without injury. No accident occurred during the remainder of the voyage; and on the 26th of September, 1580, Drake anchored at Plymouth, after an absence of two years and nearly ten months. A considerable portion of the treasure which he brought home was sequestered by government, at the instance of the Spanish ambassador, and restored to its rightful owners; but enough remained to satisfy the expectations of those who had equipped the expedition. Notwith-

standing this acknowledgment of the claims of justice, the queen bestowed on Drake many marks of her favour and approbation: she dined on board his ship at Deptford, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood. The ship was preserved for many years at Deptford; and when, at last, it seemed impossible to guard its timbers any longer from decay, a chair was made of one of the planks, and presented to the university of Oxford.

In the chequered scenes of life it is hard to find a picture of success which is not shaded by some traits of suffering and hardship. To the account of Drake's triumph may be advantageously subjoined that of the miseries endured by some of his companions. A shallop containing eight men, with provisions for only one day, was separated from and soon lost sight of his ship on the south-west side of Tierra del Fuego. These unhappy men, thus exposed to tempests and famine in an open boat, took shelter in the straits, and afterwards made their way along the coast till they came to the north side of the mouth of the La Plata. Here they went incautiously ashore, and four of the party were killed, the rest wounded by the arrows of the savages: the survivors succeeded in reaching an island about three leagues from the shore, where two of them died soon after of their wounds. The remaining two, Peter Carver and William Pitcher, stayed on this island, which was but a league in compass, two months; during which time they subsisted on small crabs, eels, and fruits; but the extremities to which they were driven from want of fresh water are too shocking to be described. At length they found a plank ten feet long, and on this they embarked to reach the main land, having formed rude paddles of the boughs of trees. The voyage, of three leagues, employed them three days and two nights: on gaining the shore they found a small rivulet, at which Pitcher overdrank himself, and expired in half an hour. Carver had hardly strength enough left to bury him in the sand. The next day he met with some of the natives, who offered him no injury; and after living with them for some time, he

wandered across the country to the Portuguese settlements in Brazil, whence, after an absence of nine years, he returned to his native country. *

CHAP. XVII.

VOYAGES TO THE SOUTH SEA.

REMARKS ON DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD. — ITS CELEBRITY. — DISCOVERIES. — SARMIENTO SURVEYS THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN. — PROPOSES TO FORTIFY THEM. — EXPEDITION FOR THAT PURPOSE. — ITS SUFFERINGS. — SAN FELIPE FOUNDED. — ITS SPEEDY RUIN. — EXPEDITION OF SIR THOMAS CANDISH. — HE PASSES THE STRAIT. — HIS SUCCESS. — CAPTURES THE ST. ANNE. — VOYAGE HOME. — HIS OBSERVATIONS. — HIS DEATH. — THE DUTCH TURN THEIR ATTENTION TO THE TRADE WITH INDIA. — EXPEDITION OF VAN NOORT. — ACCOUNT OF THE MAGELLANIC TRIBES. — THE LADRONES. — RETURN OF VAN NOORT. — VOYAGE OF VERHAGEN'S FLEET. — STRUGGLES OF DE WEERT. — REMARKABLE VOYAGE OF QUIROS. — HE DISCOVERS MANY ISLANDS. — SAGITTARIA OR OTAHEITE. — ISLAND OF HANDSOME PEOPLE. — TAUMACO. — INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE NATIVES. — HE DISCOVERS AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO. — HIS EXULTATION. — HE APPLIES TO THE KING. — HIS DEATH. — DISCOVERIES OF TORRES. — HE COASTS NEW GUINEA. — NEW HOLLAND SEEN. — EXPEDITION OF SPILBERGEN. — ACCOUNT OF THE PATAGONIANS. — HIS SUCCESS. — VOYAGE OF SCHOUTEN AND LE MAIRE. — ITS ORIGIN. — DISCOVERY OF CAPE HORN. — TYRANNY OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY. — THE NODALS SURVEY TIERRA DEL FUEGO, AND COMPLETE THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF SOUTH AMERICA.

DRAKE was the first Englishman who passed the Straits of Magellan, or who sailed under English colours in the Pacific Ocean. But independent of these strong claims to national celebrity, there are many circumstances in his voyage more intrinsically meritorious, and which demand, in a peculiar degree, the attention of the historian. It is remarkable that he should attempt, with so weak a fleet, to achieve a navigation long since

* Purchas, vol. iv.

abandoned by the Spaniards on account of its extreme difficulty and danger. He arrived in the tempestuous regions of the Magellanic Straits in the winter season, and yet he effected his passage through them in the short space of seventeen days; a much less time than was found necessary by any of those who preceded him, or even who followed him in that course.

It is likewise to be observed, that he advanced much farther towards the south than any of the Spanish discoverers. There is little room to doubt that he actually descried the headland afterwards named Cape Horn. Had he himself written the narrative of his expedition, many proofs would unquestionably remain to us of a sagacious and penetrating spirit, which cannot be supplied from the vague and discordant narratives of his historians. He conjectured that the land to the south of the Straits of Magellan was broken land, or a cluster of islands; an observation repeated by subsequent voyagers, and which modern researches have gone near to verify. It is true that the merit of having first discovered Cape Horn has been claimed by some for a captain of Loyasa's fleet, who, being driven from his course by a tempest, descried to the southward what he called the "End of the Land."* But it seems more probable that the land seen by the Spanish captain was only the south-eastern promontory of Staten Island.

Drake also penetrated farther on the north-western coast of America than any preceding navigator. He sailed as far as the forty-eighth degree of northern latitude, and took possession of the coast for the crown of England, near the port in which he wintered, in latitude 37°. He does not seem to have been aware that Cabrillo, in 1542, had surveyed the whole of that coast as far north as 43°, with all the perseverance and accuracy which the nautical science of that age would admit. But on the line of coast between 43° and 48°, Drake had not been preceded by any of the Spanish navigators. A few years later, in 1582, Francisco Gali, after sur-

* Navarrete, vol. i. p. 360.

veying minutely the islands of Japan, ran to a very high latitude on his return home, and first touched the coast of America in latitude 57° 30′. From that point to Acapulco he observed all the headlands of the continent.

Drake's design of returning home by sailing northwards round America is another remarkable proof of the boldness of his mind. The novelty of the route did not seem to him to present any difficulties. Perfect in his seamanship, relying implicitly on his own resources, and possessing that high courage which is unacquainted even with the bodings of fear, he was, in all seasons and latitudes, perfectly at home on the ocean. In the ease and certainty with which he shaped his course through unknown seas he bears a resemblance to his celebrated countryman captain Cook.

Notwithstanding the numerous delays incidental to an expedition which had for its chief object the acquisition of wealth by the plunder of the Spaniards, Drake sailed round the globe in a shorter time than any previous navigator. Success and celerity were the consequences of his prudence and resolution. Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation employed three years and thirty-seven days; that of Drake only two years and ten months.

There is nothing from which the abilities of a naval commander may be more fairly estimated, than from the ascendancy which he possesses over the minds of his crew. In this Drake was unrivalled; no murmurs or mutinous discontent destroyed the harmony subsisting between him and his companions. His manliness and generosity of temper are conspicuous in his treatment of the simple natives of New Albion. His humane and fearless deportment towards a weak and inoffensive people forms a striking contrast with the timid barbarity displayed by the Spaniards in his own days, and the Dutch who succeeded him, in their dealings with the South Sea islanders.

Sir Francis Drake was the first who broke in upon

the repose of the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean. Little did they expect to encounter foreign and hostile fleets in those sequestered seas, which they deemed peculiarly their own: least of all did they imagine that their enemies would reach them by the Straits of Magellan, which had been so wholly forgotten by their own navigators, as even to be supposed by popular opinion to have been closed up by some dreadful convulsion of nature. * But the expedition of sir Francis Drake formed a new and brilliant epoch in the history of navigation. England was at that time awakening to a sense of its internal strength, and rising rapidly to that maritime superiority which it has since so proudly maintained. The pursuit of fame, and love of chivalrous exploits, suited with the temper of the court in the reign of Elizabeth. Men of fortune and of education hurried into every path of enterprise which promised them honour and distinction. Not a few followed in the track of sir Francis Drake; and such was the ardour resulting from the success of his voyage, that in the course of sixteen years the English sent no fewer than six expeditions to the South Seas.

The appearance of the English on the coast of Peru alarmed the Spaniards for the security of their treasures, and called their attention to the means of preventing similar insults. In October, 1579, Pedro Sarmiento sailed from Lima, with two large vessels, to examine more accurately the Straits of Magellan. To the south of Chili, on the western coast of Patagonia, he fell in with a labyrinth of inlets, harbours, and narrow channels, which he supposed would conduct him to the Straits of Magellan. Ascending a lofty eminence in this archipelago, he reckoned no less than eighty-five islands,

* Por falta di piloto ó encubierta
Causa quiza importante y no sabuda,
Esta secreta senza descubierta
Quedó para nosotros escondida;
Ora sea yerro de la altura cierta,
Ora que alguna Isleta removida
Del tempestuoso mar y viento airado
Encallando en la boca la ha cerrado.
Araucana, part i. canto i. oct. 9.

lying close together, within a short space around him. Having extricated himself with much difficulty from this intricate navigation, he surveyed the Straits of Magellan, and then proceeded to Spain to report his observations. Sarmiento is said to have made during this voyage observations in longitude by eclipses, and the distances of the fixed stars.* In Spain he represented in such glowing colours the climate and productions of the Magellanic country, and spoke so sanguinely of the possibility of fortifying the straits, so as to prevent intrusion upon the Pacific Ocean, to which he supposed them to afford the only entrance by the west, that the king ordered the equipment of a fleet to carry his scheme of colonisation into effect. Twenty-three ships, with 3500 men on board, set sail from Cadiz in 1581, under the command of Diego Florez Valdes: Sarmiento himself was appointed general of the colony. But misfortunes hung over this expedition, which was furnished with a prodigality proportioned to the ignorance which planned it. Some of the ships were dispersed by gales before they reached the strait; others entered it, but were forced back again by bad weather. Florez, disheartened by adversity, abandoned the enterprise, and returned to Spain: but Sarmiento himself, though thrice obliged to retire to Brazil, still persevered in his attempt, and at length succeeded in founding a city, which he named, from the king of Spain, San Felipe. But the new settlement experienced, in an unusual degree, the hardships of want and malady, which await all colonies in a strange and rigorous climate. Sarmiento lost the favour of the king of Spain by his deceitful description of the strait, which he represented to be in many places so narrow that it could be easily defended by a single fort. Returning to Spain, in hopes of obtaining succours for his infant settlement, the unhappy general was captured by the English, and was not ransomed till the object of his solicitude had ceased to exist. The colony at San Felipe was quickly reduced by famine and dis-

* Navarrete, vol. i. p. 371.

ease: the ravages of death became at length so great, that the few who remained alive were unable to bury their deceased companions. A pestilence consequently ensued, which obliged the survivors, twenty-three in number, to desert the city, and wander forth to procure subsistence by hunting or fishing: but, unable to bear the privations and vicissitudes of a savage life, the greater part of them soon perished.

The attempt of the Spaniards to fortify the straits, which they believed to form the only entrance into the Pacific Ocean, did not deter the English adventurers from their bold schemes of hostility. Among the gentlemen in that enterprising age who sought wealth and fame by privateering expeditions against the Spaniards one of the most distinguished was Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, proprietor of a large estate near Ipswich in Suffolk. As soon as he became master of his fortune he equipped a vessel of 120 tons burden, with which he accompanied sir Richard Greenville in his expedition to Virginia in 1585. Some experience, and aspirations prompted by the accounts which he heard of sir Francis Drake's exploits in the western seas, were the sole fruits of this enterprise: but his ardour was rather prompted than extinguished by the expensiveness of his voyage; and he soon after fitted out a small fleet, consisting of three vessels, the largest of which was of 140 tons burden, and having on board 126 officers and sailors, with which he intended to follow the footsteps of Drake, and invade the Spanish possessions in the South Seas. Having provided himself with maps, and whatever guides the science of the age afforded, and having successfully employed his influence at court to obtain a commission from the queen to cruise against the Spaniards, he set sail in July, 1586.

When Candish arrived in the Straits of Magellan, the ruins of Sarmiento's unfortunate colony were still in existence. The bastions of the fort had suffered no dilapidation; some of the houses were still standing, and the whole presented a melancholy appearance of desolation. One of the surviving Spaniards was found, who

gave to our countrymen an afflicting account of the sufferings which terminated in the destruction of the colony. The guns which had been mounted on the batteries, and which the Spaniards, foreseeing the fate of the settlement, had taken the precaution to bury in the sand, were dug for by Candish, and all recovered. With respect to the natives, he confirms the account given by preceding navigators of their gigantic stature. The impression of a foot in the sand, in one instance, measured eighteen inches. At Penguin Island, which lies within the straits, he found such a multitude of those birds, from which the island has its name, that he could easily have taken sufficient to serve as provision for his whole voyage.

Candish at length left the straits, and entered the Pacific Ocean, without encountering any of those violent hurricanes or variable winds which have so often baffled the skill of the Spanish seamen both before and after him. As he proceeded northward along the coast, he entered on his work of war and spoliation. He burned the town of Payta, and committed the like outrage at Puna, where he sunk a large ship, having first plundered her valuable cargo. On approaching New Spain he captured a vessel, on board of which was Sanchez, a pilot well acquainted with the South Seas, and from whom he first received intelligence of a richly laden vessel whose arrival was daily expected from the Philippines. At Cape Saint Lucas, in California, where the jutting white rocks resemble the Needles in the Isle of Wight, he lay in shelter, awaiting his prey. At length the wished-for signal was given. A large vessel was seen on the horizon, and proved to be the Saint Anne of 700 tons, the admiral of the South Seas, and laden with a cargo which was valued at 122,000 pesos.

The division of so rich a prize led to mutinous quarrels, which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences; but the generosity of Candish appeased the storm which his youth and inexperience could not prevent. All were satisfied with the distri-

bution which he made of his wealth, and returned to obedience before discord and alienation had become incurable. Preparations were now made to return home. The prisoners were put on shore, furnished with clothing and provisions to enable them to reach New Spain over land; and a few only of the crew were retained, whose acquaintance with the Indian seas might be serviceable in the navigation homeward.

Candish sailed from the coast of California to the Ladrones, a distance which he estimated at 1800 leagues, in the short space of forty-five days. Pursuing a circuitous route, by the Philippines, Borneo, and the Moluccas, he at length arrived in the Straits of Sunda. Having here refitted, and taken in a new stock of provisions, he put to sea, and after a voyage of nine weeks arrived at the Cape of Good Hope.

During this navigation he made numerous observations on winds, tides, and currents, which contributed not a little to improve the nautical science of the day. He remarked that the distance from Java to the Cape of Good Hope was above 2000 leagues in the Portuguese charts, while by his reckoning it was only 1850. He thus made a considerable approximation to geographical correctness in contracting the distance between the Cape of Good Hope and the remote countries of India; while at the same time he increased the interval between the Spice Islands and the continent of America. Leaving the Cape of Good Hope, he touched at Saint Helena, which he describes as a delicious island covered with trees; and he was the first British navigator who discovered the local advantages of that island, which had hitherto been resorted to exclusively by the Portuguese fleets. The native forests, with which it was then covered, were afterwards destroyed with singular rapidity by the introduction of goats and rabbits into the island; and this is not the only instance in which the multiplication of these animals has laid bare the most enchanting scenes in nature. Candish arrived at Plymouth on the 9th of September, 1588.

In this voyage we see another proof of the rapid improvement of maritime science. Drake had circumnavigated the globe in three months less time than had been employed in a like navigation by the companions of Magellan; but the voyage of Candish round the globe was performed in eight months less than that of Drake. In all the accounts which remain of his voyage may be seen abundant evidence that he surveyed every object with the eye of an expert seaman. He examined with great care the Straits of Magellan; his account of the Philippines is full of valuable information; and he likewise brought home with him a map and description of China.

His success as a privateer surpassed the anticipations of the most sanguine. He is said, by contemporary writers, to have amassed wealth sufficient "to buy a fair earldom." Being young and ardent, he regarded his early good fortune as only the prelude to greater acquisitions. But success so eminent was not to be repeated: and Fortune, who had once lavished all her favours on him, rudely repulsed his future addresses. He equipped a second fleet, and sailed once more for the Magellanic Straits. But his progress was now thwarted by all the calamities that can beset a maritime expedition. Continued storms baffled all his attempts to enter the Pacific Ocean: mutiny broke out among his crews; his captains disobeyed his commands; and, after sustaining a considerable time the united pressure of bodily fatigue and mental anxiety, he sunk under his affliction, and died on the coast of Brazil. The lamentable issue of this expedition damped, for a time, the ardour of enterprise which existed in England; and the experienced mariners of Candish's fleet, many of whom had been the companions of sir Francis Drake, were obliged to seek abroad that employment which they could not find at home.

The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal under Philip II. gave a sudden check to the spirit of aggrandisement with which the latter nation extended its acquisitions in the East. The loss of national independence, and the interference of a government at once jealous and

remiss, paralysed that energy which the Portuguese had previously displayed in mercantile speculation and in conquest. While the Portuguese empire in the East thus lost that vital spirit which had hitherto nourished and sustained it, it was assailed from without by enemies provoked by the same genius of encroaching and despotic policy. Philip, by attacking the rights of the Hollanders, compelled them to take up arms and to assert their independence. The Dutch, while obedient subjects, were prohibited from engaging in the lucrative commerce in the East. They had been compelled to receive all the productions of the Indies at second hand, through the merchants of Spain and Portugal. But now, when they found themselves involved in so unequal a contest, to maintain which, though they brought the courage of freemen, they were unable to supply the adequate and necessary funds, they were prompted not only by interest, but by national hatred, to attack the Spanish possessions in the Indies and South Seas. Their attempts to find a passage by the north-east to India had proved unsuccessful; and they were tempted, by the example of the English, to pursue boldly the beaten tracks by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

In the beginning of the year 1598, some eminent Dutch merchants resolved to equip an expedition for the purpose of cruising on the coasts of New Spain and Peru, as the English had already done with so much success. Accordingly four ships were fitted out, and manned by 240 persons of all ranks. Oliver Van Noort was appointed to the command of this little fleet. The officers were all men of experience; and the pilot, Mellish, had already sailed with Candish in his voyage round the world. Their voyage was so much retarded by bad weather, accidents, sickness, and discord, that fifteen months elapsed before they could enter the Straits of Magellan. While anchored in the straits, they saw some men on a little island brandishing their weapons at them in token of defiance. The Dutch, nevertheless, landed, and pursued the savages to a cave, which they

stubbornly defended to the last man, dying every one upon the spot. Their wives and children lay concealed in the dark recesses of the cave, expecting instant death from their inhuman invaders. But the Dutch, satisfied with the barbarities they had already committed, only carried off six of the children.

One of the boys, having learned to speak Dutch, gave them the following intelligence:—"That the greater of these two islands was called *Castemme*, and the tribe that inhabited it *Enoo*; that the less island was called *Talke*; and that both were well stored with penguins, whose flesh was their food, and the skins their clothing: and as for habitations, they had none but these caves. That the adjoining continent abounded with ostriches, which likewise served for food. That the natives were distinguished into tribes, which resided in different quarters: the *Kemenetes* inhabited *Kaesay*; the *Kennekin* dwelt in *Karamay*; the *Kariaks* in *Morina*." These tribes were all of the common size, with broad breasts, and painted all over. But there was a fourth tribe, called *Tirimemen*, inhabiting *Coin*; and these were of gigantic stature, being ten or twelve feet high, and continually at war with the other tribes." This simple statement goes far to reconcile the diversities that appear in the accounts respecting the *Patagonians*. Though it was midsummer when the Dutch passed through the strait, yet they found the ice so thick, that sounding with ten fathoms they could not find the bottom of it. The land seemed to be a heap of broken islands, to which the height of the mountains alone gave an appearance of continuity.

They at length reached the South Sea, after struggling through the straits for three months. On the coast of Peru they captured several Spanish vessels, without finding one valuable prize. But they learned to their mortification that the captain of one of the vessels which they had taken had thrown overboard, when first chased, the whole of his treasure, including 10,200 lbs. weight of gold, and amounting in value to about 2,000,000 pesos.

The Dutch now steered toward the west, and early in September arrived at the Ladrones. The islanders immediately surrounded them in their canoes, crying out vociferously *Hiero, hiero!* that is, Iron, iron! for they had already learned the Portuguese name for that metal. Their eagerness to trade was so great that they overturned one another's canoes in endeavouring to gain the ship, where their presence was not covered, as they showed themselves to be singularly expert thieves, diving to the bottom the moment they seized their plunder. In passing to Manilla, the Dutch seized a Japanese ship, the strange form of which caused them some surprise. Her forecastle was raised like a chimney; and her rigging was as singular as her shape—the sails being made of reeds, the anchors of wood, and the cables of straw. The Dutch fleet, after touching at Borneo, arrived safely at Java towards the end of January; and in August the same year anchored before the city of Rotterdam, having thus employed nearly three years in circumnavigating the globe. As Van Noort was the first Dutch navigator who achieved that feat, his skill and courage were loudly extolled by his countrymen on his return: yet his voyage had no success in a mercantile point of view; and, compared with those of Drake and Candish, whose experience served to guide him, it was tedious and unfortunate.

About three months before the departure of the expedition under Van Noort, a fleet of five large vessels had been despatched on a voyage of discovery from the city of Rotterdam, chiefly at the expense and suggestion of an opulent merchant named Verhagen. The admiral of this fleet was James Mahu. The smallest of the ships was commanded by Sebald de Weert. The pilot upon whom they chiefly depended was William Adams, a man of great experience, and of whose adventures a narrative has been given in another place. The fleet lingered too long on the coast of Africa, and disease broke out among the crews. The admiral soon after died, and the changes which in consequence took place among the

officers gave rise to general discontentment. In April they entered the Straits of Magellan, where they were detained for five months by adverse winds. During all this time, they suffered much from scarcity of food and the severity of the climate. The keen air made them inordinately hungry. They had nothing to satisfy themselves with but raw herbs and shell-fish, which produced diseases, and only added to their misery. At length three of the ships effected their passage into the South Sea, where they were dispersed by storms, as related above in our account of William Adams. De Weert, whose vessel was a bad sailer, and whose crew were disheartened, remained behind; nor did he receive any assistance from Van Noort, who, when passing through the strait, found him there in a distressed condition, unable either to proceed or to return. He struggled for nine months with all the difficulties that could beset him in a rigorous climate and tempestuous seas; and at length, contriving to make his way into the Atlantic, reached the Maese, after a voyage of six months, with thirty-six men surviving out of a crew of 105. In leaving the Straits of Magellan he discovered three small islands to the south-east, which he named the *Sebaldine Islands*; they are the *Falkland Islands* of English maps.

While the Dutch and English threatened to annihilate the settlements of the Spaniards in India and Peru, the last-mentioned nation, guided more in its policy by covetousness than prudence, was still bent on extending its colonial dominion in the South. It was not forgotten that Mendana had attempted, in 1595, to plant a colony in Santa Cruz; and in 1606, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, who had accompanied Mendana in that voyage as chief pilot, was sent with three good ships and a small vessel called a zabra, to revisit that island, and make further discoveries. Quiros engaged cordially in this undertaking; and as he was an able navigator, this voyage contributed more largely to the stock of geographical information than any other expedition fitted out by the Spaniards since the days of Magellan.

He sailed from Callao on the 21st of December, 1605. Several islands were discovered by him at the commencement of his voyage, which attracted little attention, as they appeared uninhabited. But at the end of six weeks, when the crews began to feel distressed for fresh provisions, an island was descried, on which numerous fires gave an assurance of human habitations. It was situated in 18° 10′ S., and received from Quiros the name of *Sagittaria*. No anchorage could be found near the shore, nor could a landing be effected from the boats, owing to the violence of the surge. The natives, armed with clubs and lances, stood in numbers on the rocks. A young Spaniard, named Francisco Ponce, indignant at the failure of their attempts to reach the shore, stripped off his clothes and swam to the rocks. The natives, filled with admiration at his confidence and courage, sprang to his assistance, and welcomed him with affectionate embraces, repeatedly kissing his forehead. Quiros did not remain here long; but he learned from the natives that he would find a large country in his route. The Sagittaria of Quiros is generally supposed to be Otaheite; the chief objection to their identity being the difficulty experienced by the Spanish navigator in finding good anchorage.*

Leaving this island, the Spaniards soon after arrived at the *Isla de la Gente Hermosa*, or Island of Handsome People, so named from the remarkable beauty of its inhabitants. Their courage and audacity corresponded with their physical vigour. The men approached the ships in their canoes, brandishing their javelins, and making other demonstrations of open defiance. They tied a cord to the smallest of the vessels, and endeavoured, by swimming, to draw her on shore, nor did the report and dreadful execution of fire-arms at once intimidate them. The women were fair, with graceful demeanour, and were thought more attractive than the Spanish ladies. Though Quiros was partial to the South Sea islanders in general, and to this handsome

* Fleurieu, decouvertes des Français, p. 35. Burney, vol. ii. p. 281.

race in particular, he was extremely harsh and unskilful in his mode of dealing with them. Hence he had occasion to give to this island the sinister name of *Matanza*, or Slaughter Island.

He next arrived at the island of Taumaco, in 10° south: here he found that the inhabitants, who had never seen Europeans before, were yet not unacquainted with the effects of fire-arms. They maintained an intercourse with Santa Cruz, and had heard of Mendana's proceedings in that island. In Taumaco the Spaniards, as usual, abused the hospitality and provoked the hostility of the natives. Quiros, however, obtained here some important information. Tumay, the chief or king of the island, named to him above sixty islands, at the same time indicating their sizes and the directions in which they lay; and mentioned also a large country which he called Manicolo: to express its dimensions, he opened both his arms without joining them again, to show that it extended without end. This piece of intelligence fanned the ardour of Quiros; and as he found it impossible to maintain a friendly intercourse with the natives, whom he treated with insolence and cruelty, he did not prolong his stay at Taumaco, but hastened to the discovery of "the great country" towards the south.

At length on the 1st of May he approached its shores, and two days after anchored in the port *De la Vera Cruz*, a spacious haven capable of containing 1000 ships, and with two fine rivers flowing into it, one of which, according to Quiros, is as large as the Guadalquivir at Seville. As he supposed that the land which he had now discovered was part of the long sought southern continent, he named it *Australia del Espiritu Santo*. That region of fancy had been long painted in the brightest hues that romantic imaginations could impart; and, consequently, "all on board," to use the expressions of Torquemada, "were overjoyed at having attained the object of their desires, holding within their grasp the most abundant and powerful country which

had yet been discovered by Spaniards." * But the violence of the Spaniards, exciting the determined enmity of the inhabitants, defeated all their plans. Quiros, however, took possession of the country in the name of Philip III., and acted the formalities of founding a city, which he named *New Jerusalem*, appointing the alcaldes, regidores, and other officers.

While Quiros lingered in the port of La Vera Cruz, still hoping to establish a friendly correspondence with the islanders, a violent storm drove his ship out to sea, thus separating him from the remainder of his fleet. He returned immediately to Mexico, whence he proceeded to Spain to entreat permission "to add the Australia del Espiritu Santo to the other possessions of the Spanish monarchy." So importunately did he urge his suit, that he is said to have presented no less than fifty memorials on the subject to the king. He described the newly discovered country as a perfect paradise, abounding of course in the precious metals. His zeal and assiduity at length gained their object, and he was remanded to the viceroy of Peru to be furnished with ships for another expedition; but he died at Panama on his way to Lima. His Australia is generally believed to be the same with the *Grandes Cyclades* of Bougainville, and *New Hebrides* of Cook.

After the separation of Quiros from his fleet, Luis Vaz de Torres, the second in command, proceeded on his voyage to the south-west. He saw enough of Australia to persuade him that it was not a continent, and mentions his intention of circumnavigating it if the season had permitted. Having reached the latitude of 21° without finding land, he stood more to the north, and at length fell in with the eastern extremity of New Guinea, and followed the southern coast of that great island on his way to the Moluccas. He found this sea, which he was the first to explore, to be an archipelago covered with innumerable islands. It is remarkable also, that in 11° south latitude he saw land to the south-

* Monarquia Indica, lib. v. cap. 68.

ward, which must have been some part of the great Terra Australis, at present commonly but incorrectly called New Holland. Torres went on shore in different parts of New Guinea, and took formal possession of that country for the king of Spain.

While Portugal maintained an obstinate struggle with Holland for the possession of the Spice Islands and the Japanese trade, the Dutch East India company resolved to make a vigorous effort to reach the Moluccas by the Straits of Magellan. Six large vessels were equipped for that purpose, and sailed from the Texel in August, 1614, under the command of George Spilbergen. The course which he designed to follow was kept profoundly secret until he had advanced a long way across the Atlantic; the crews then breaking out into murmurs, from anxiety to know their destination, he declared "that he had no other orders than to sail through the Straits of Magellan, inasmuch as no other passage was known to him." He effected his passage through the straits in thirty-four days. Spilbergen adds his testimony in favour of the existence of Patagonian giants. At first he was inclined to doubt on this point the veracity of previous voyagers. The savages whom he usually saw were rather below the ordinary size; but one day a man of gigantic stature was observed climbing a hill to look at the fleet: he afterwards approached the shore for the same purpose, and was seen distinctly by all the crews. It was the unanimous opinion that his stature exceeded that assigned to the Patagonians by Magellan. The fleet entered the South Sea in May, not without encountering one of those violent storms which seem to keep perpetual guard at the entrances of those dangerous straits. The remainder of the voyage was a continual triumph. No geographical discoveries indeed were made, but Spilbergen succeeded in the proper object of the expedition. He completely defeated the Spanish fleet on the coast of Peru; he assisted in the reduction of the Spice Islands; and contributed effectually to establish the power of the Dutch in the

East Indies. He arrived safely in Holland in July, 1617, having employed two years and eleven months in his voyage round the globe. His glory was enhanced by the contrast of his voyage with those of Van Noort and Mahu: for he brought back his armament undiminished; whereas of nine ships that had sailed in the preceding expeditions, only one returned home.

The year after the departure of Spilbergen's expedition, two ships fitted out by private adventurers sailed from the Texel on a voyage of discovery. This voyage, which, as far as regarded the projectors, was as unfortunate in its termination as that of Spilbergen's was successful, though far more important in the history of geography, had its rise in the following circumstances: The Dutch East India Company claimed, by virtue of their charter, an exclusive right to the trade carried on with India by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; but the merchants, who felt themselves oppressed by this monopoly, entertained hopes that the exclusive rights conferred by the charter might be nullified by a strict interpretation of the very clause which conveyed the grant. The states-general, with a view to encourage navigation, and chiefly, perhaps, to discover the long sought north-west passage, had decreed that the discoverers of new passages to India should have the profits of the first four voyages by the newly discovered route as their reward. It was concluded, therefore, that if a passage round South America, distinct from the Straits of Magellan, were discovered, the oppressive privileges of the East India Company might be completely evaded.

An opulent merchant of Amsterdam, named Isaac le Maire, well versed in geography, was disposed to believe in the existence of such a passage; and consulting William Cornelison Schouten, of Horn, a man of great nautical experience, he was confirmed in his opinion. The result of their deliberations was, that such a passage might probably be found; that the southern countries which might be reached by it abounded in riches; and;

finally, that the East India Company could not interfere with a trade carried on with India by a route distinct from those mentioned in their charter. In consequence, it was resolved to despatch an expedition of discovery. Isaac le Maire advanced the greater part of the money; Schouten was allowed to have the sole direction of the voyage; and Jacob le Maire, the eldest son of Isaac, was to accompany him as supercargo. So eager were they in the prosecution of the design, that their arrangements were soon completed. Strict secrecy was observed with respect to their definite object: yet their intention of exploring the southern seas was generally known; and the terms in which we have seen above that Spilbergen expressed the instructions of his voyage, might lead to the conclusion that theories respecting the existence of a southern passage had been some time in agitation. Sir Francis Drake, though he took no pains to blazon his geographical discoveries, was well aware that he had nearly circumnavigated the broken land called Tierra del Fuego, and that he had seen the southernmost extremity of America. This conviction he had imparted to sir Richard Hawkins, a man of nautical experience and well acquainted with those seas, who concurred with him in opinion, and who writes, "that a man with a fair wind may keep the main sea and go round about the straits to the southward, which is the shorter way." It is not surprising, therefore, that at a time when the Dutch derived so much assistance from English seamen, the hydrographical information of Drake should have passed traditionally into Holland, and have reached the ears of those whose interests made them eager to embrace it.

The two ships, the Unity and the Horn, sailed from the Texel in June, 1615. Having provided himself with an English gunner and carpenter, Schouten stood boldly across the Atlantic, resolving to shun those delays of stopping in port which had proved fatal to many preceding expeditions. Their destination was hitherto a secret but on crossing the line, the crew were told that

they were bound to Terra Australis (Del Espiritu Santo of Quiros), and the men, who had never before heard of this country, wrote the name in their caps in order to remember it. By the middle of December they reached Port Desire, at the eastern entrance of the straits, where the smaller of the two vessels, the Horn, was accidentally consumed by fire, when undergoing some repairs. Proceeding southward from this port, they discovered *Staten Land*; and passing through the strait which separates it from Tierra del Fuego, they found a great sea, in which whales and other monsters were so numerous as to embarrass the passage. Sea mews, larger than swans, with wings stretching a fathom across, flew screaming round the ship. The wind was adverse, and they were compelled to tack much: but at length they saw the southern extremity of the land to which Schouten, from his native town, gave the name of Cape Horn. The strait through which they had just sailed was named from Le Maire, the projector of the voyage. On the 3d of February, while struggling with adverse winds, they reached lat. 59° 25′, and saw no land; on the 12th, sailing on the opposite tack, they found themselves to the west of Magellan's Straits. Nothing could exceed their joy at this discovery; but they were so distressed by the fatigues of their late voyage, that they steered directly for the island of Juan Fernandez, in order to indulge there in a short repose. They found the island; but being unacquainted with its shores, they could not approach it through the surf, and were obliged to continue their voyage. Several small islands were descried by them, which seemed to have just risen from the waves. They were, in general, not above the level of the sea, the interior being covered with lagoons, and surrounded by a kind of dyke. Some of them appeared to be in a more advanced state of formation, and were furnished with a few trees. In one of them, named *Fly Island* from the circumstance, the flies were so numerous as to appear to the Dutchmen a sort of plague; the seamen were covered with them as with another clothing,

and some days elapsed before the ship could be freed from these disagreeable visiters. Schouten at length arrived in Java, where his ship was confiscated by the East India Company, and instead of receiving the honour which was due to his merit as a navigator, he was treated as an interloper and delinquent. It is to be remarked, that Schouten did not prosecute his design of examining the southern regions of the great ocean; the loss of the Horn, and the distress which he endured in his voyage by Le Maire's Straits, diverted him from his purpose, and compelled him to choose the easy navigation in the trade winds near the line, where there were not, however, any discoveries to be made. But this voyage first demonstrated that the Straits of Magellan were not the eastern door of the Pacific; and it is not the least merit of this discovery, that it was not purely the result of chance.

The Spaniards thus learned the folly of their presumption, in attempting, four and thirty years before, to exclude other nations from the navigation of the Pacific, by fortifying the Straits of Magellan. On hearing the result of Schouten's voyage, they sent, in 1618, Bartolomeo and Gonzalo Nodal, to explore in detail the southern coasts which the Dutch had just discovered: and it is worth while to observe, that they employed Dutch pilots in this voyage; thus acknowledging themselves outstripped in maritime skill by the very people whose spirit of enterprise they had sought to crush by the extinction of their liberties. The Nodals executed their task with ability; they completely circumnavigated the Tierra del Fuego, and thus completed the survey of South America.

CHAP. XVIII.

VOYAGES IN THE PACIFIC, AND DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA.

THE STRAITS OF ANIAN.—DISCOVERIES ASCRIBED TO URDANETA. —DEPOSITIONS OF LADRILLERO AND MARTIN CHACK. — FABULOUS VOYAGE OF MALDONADO. — EXPEDITION OF JUAN DE FUCA. — VINDICATION OF HIS VOYAGE. — VOYAGE OF DE FONTE.— HE DISCOVERS THE ARCHIPELAGO OF ST. LAZARUS. — ENTERS LAKE VELASCO. — PROCEEDS TO LAKE BELLE. — DESCENDS A RIVER. — ARRIVES AT THE ATLANTIC. — BERNARDO EXPLORES THE SEA OF TATARY. — VISCAYNO SURVEYS CALIFORNIA.— AGUILAR ARRIVES AT THE RIVER OF QUIVIRA. — SECRECY OF THE SPANIARDS.— FIRST DISCOVERY OF NEW HOLLAND. — VOYAGE OF HERTOGE. — EELS, DE NUYTZ, AND CARPENTER. — NEW HOLLAND KNOWN EARLY TO THE PORTUGUESE. — EXPEDITION OF ABEL TASMAN. — HE DISCOVERS VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.—ARRIVES AT NEW ZEALAND.—DRIVEN AWAY BY THE NATIVES.— HE FINDS THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS. — AMSTERDAM ISLAND. — ROTTERDAM. — KINDLY RECEIVED BY THE NATIVES. — DANGEROUS SHOALS.— TASMAN RETURNS BY NEW GUINEA.

WHILE the geography of South America thus rose into clear light, the obscurity of fable and uncertainty still hung over the northern portion of that great continent. When Cortereal returned from the coast of Labrador, where he had probably entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he reported that he had discovered the Straits of Anian, which were supposed at that time, and for ages afterwards, to conduct into the Pacific Ocean. The origin of this name is uncertain, but the belief in the existence of the Straits of Anian gave rise to many a fiction, and communicated a tinge of the fabulous even to voyages that were actually performed. But as men are more willing to believe in the activity of their imaginations, than in their liability to become its dupes, accounts which had so large a mixture of the incredible were looked upon as mere inventions, and wholly disregarded.

The celebrated voyager Andres de Urdaneta, who ac-

companied Legaspi on his expedition to the Philippines, and returned to New Spain by the northern Pacific, was reported to have discovered a northern strait conducting from the great ocean into the Atlantic. The high reputation of Urdaneta as a navigator and cosmographer, by representing him as a fit person to solve an interesting geographical problem, may have conduced, along with some speculations found among his papers at his death, to give rise to this report. In 1574, a pilot of New Spain, named Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, publicly declared that he had discovered a strait of communication about 800 leagues to the north of Compostella, in New Spain, and that it disembogued itself into the sea where the English went to kill fish. Another formal deposition to the same effect, was made in 1579, by Martin Chack, a Portuguese mariner, who stated that in a small ship, of eighty tons burden, he had found a way from the East Indies through the Gulf of Newfoundland, which he believed to be in latitude 59° north. The discovery said to have been made by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, who, it was pretended, made a voyage from Lisbon to the coast of Labrador, in the year 1598, and found a strait by which the navigation from Spain to China might be performed in three months, is no doubt as apocryphal as the foregoing.

Among the voyages which were for a long time considered as fictitious, and the credit of which is not perfectly established at the present day, one of the first, in the order of time and of importance, is the expedition of Juan de Fuca. This pilot, whose real name was Apostolos Valerianos, was a Greek of the island of Cephalonia, and was employed in the service of Spain for upwards of forty years. Being at Lemnos, in the year 1596, on his return from his voyages, he gave an account of his last expedition to Mr. Michael Lock, an English gentleman of talent and respectability, by whom the particulars were communicated to Purchas. Fuca, according to the account that he gave, had been despatched from the harbour of Acapulco, in 1592, by the

viceroy of Mexico, with a small caravel and a pinnace, for the purpose of discovering the communication by the north of America from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. Between the parallels of 47° and 48° he found that the land trended to the north-east, and presented a large opening which might possibly be a strait; he entered it, and sailed through it for the space of twenty days. The land in some places extended toward the north-east, in others toward the north-west; the passage grew much wider as he advanced, and contained several islands. Fuca frequently went on shore, and saw a number of inhabitants clothed with skins of animals; the country appeared to him to be fertile, and to abound in gold, silver, and pearls. He continued this course till he reached the Atlantic Ocean. He had found the strait, through its entire length, to be of a width sufficient for navigation; and the mouth by which he had entered it had appeared to him to be thirty or forty leagues across. He then resolved to return by the same passage, for he was satisfied that he had accomplished the object of his mission in discovering a communication of the two seas across the continent of America. He was also prevented from advancing by his dread of the savages, whom he was unable to resist if they thought proper to attack him: he therefore returned to Acapulco, where he spent two years in vainly soliciting the reward to which he thought himself entitled for the discovery that opened to Spain a new source of wealth and prosperity.

The voyage of Fuca was long regarded as a fiction; the discoveries of the English in Hudson's Bay clearly demonstrating that there does not exist such a communication with the western ocean as that which he pretends to have discovered: but his narrative ought to be interpreted with all the indulgence which is due to writings of that age. Modern researches have proved that there exists an inlet near the latitude mentioned by him, which conducts, not indeed into the Atlantic, but into a large basin, or interior sea, which separates a great archipelago from the high lands of the continent.

It is probable that Fuca, having proceed 150 or 160 leagues in this basin, felt convinced that it would conduct him into the Atlantic ocean; and that, under this presumption, he hastened his return, just as Corteteal had announced his discovery of the Straits of Anian, and as the Dutch voyager Cornelison had turned back from the north-eastern seas with a conviction that he had found a passage to Tatary and China. But Fuca, by confounding hypothesis with fact, has incurred the danger of being wholly disregarded.

Towards the beginning of the present century there was circulated in Europe the account of an expedition performed in 1640, by one admiral Bartolomeo de Fuente, or Fonte, which appeared for the first time in London in 1708, in a periodical work entitled *Memoirs for the Curious*. It long occupied the attention of English, German, and French geographers, but is now deservedly regarded as a fiction. Yet the names of De Lisle, Buache, and Fleurieu, who condescended to become its apologists and defenders, may still entitle it to a brief consideration.

The narrative relates that the king of Spain, alarmed at the progress made by Hudson, James, and other navigators, in the north-west, determined to oppose their attempts to reach the Pacific Ocean by that course, and for this purpose De Fonte received orders to sail with four armed ships. Accordingly he put to sea, from Callao, on the 3d of April, 1640. At the port of St. Helena, 200 leagues to the north of the Bay of Guayaquil, they took in a large quantity of bitumen, or mineral tar, which was deemed an excellent remedy for the scurvy. The master of De Fonte's ship informed him, that 200 leagues north from Cape St. Lucas the flood tide from the north met that flowing from the south, and that he was therefore sure that California must be an island. On this information, don Diego Penelosa, a young nobleman of great knowledge in cosmography, undertook to discover whether California were an island or a peninsula; and, for that purpose, parted from the

admiral's fleet with his ship, and four small boats. De Fonte, continuing his voyage to the north, sailed about 260 leagues through crooked channels among islands, which he named the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus;* the boats keeping always ahead and sounding, to guard against the danger of rocks and shoals. Pedro de Bernardo, who was despatched by the admiral to explore a large river flowing from the north, ascended it into a great lake full of islands inhabited by a friendly people. He named it *Lake Velasco.* On this lake he sailed first 140 leagues W., and then 436 E.N.E., till he came to 77° of latitude. De Fonte having despatched captain Bernardo, as he informs us, on the discovery of the north-eastern part of the Tatarian Sea, proceeded himself up a large navigable river, which he named *Rio los Reyes,* running nearly north-east. The admiral received a letter from Bernardo, dated the 17th of June, 1640, in which he informed him that he had left his ship in the Lake Velasco, between Bernardo Island and the peninsula Conihasset; that he had ascended the river from the lake eighty leagues, and down three falls or rapids, and entered the Tatarian Sea in lat. 61°. He found the land trending to the north-east: the country abounded with venison, and the sea and rivers were filled with excellent fish. De Fonte himself had, in the mean time, arrived at an Indian town called *Conosset,* on the south side of *Lake Belle,* which, although he entered it by a river, was yet, as it appears from his narrative, reached by the tide. The mullets of Lake Belle are the finest in the world.

On the 1st of July, 1640, he sailed from Lake Belle, down a river, which he named *Parmentier,* in honour of his friend, the surveyor of the fleet. He passed eight rapids, making a fall of thirty-two feet, and arrived, on the 6th of July, at a large lake, which he named *Lake de Fonte.* It was 160 leagues long, from W.S.W. to E.N.E., and sixty broad, and abounded with cod and ling: a suspicious circumstance; as both these fish, and ling especially, may be considered as belonging to the

deep and open sea. The woods here were frequented by the moose deer; and the vegetation, as described by De Fonte, is suitable to a northern latitude. Proceeding still towards the E.N.E., he passed through another lake, which he named *Estrecho de Ronquillo*, thirty-four leagues long, two or three broad, and with a great depth of water. The country now grew sensibly worse, and the climate more austere; as might be expected from a north-eastern progress over the North American continent. At length, on the 17th of July, admiral De Fonte arrived at an Indian town, and was informed that a great ship lay at no great distance, where one had been never seen before. This ship, as he afterwards learned from its commander, was from Boston, in New England. When captain Shapley assured the Spanish admiral that his owner was a fine gentleman, and major-general of the great colony of Massachusetts, he was graciously received; and De Fonte told him, that though he was commissioned to make prize of any people seeking a west or north-west passage, yet he would look upon them as merchants, trading with the natives for furs and skins. This interview having terminated amicably, De Fonte ascended the river Parmentier on his return, eighty-six leagues to the first fall; and in five days more arrived on board his ship "before the fine town of Conosset."

A few days after, an Indian brought him a letter from Bernardo, who sent him word that he was returned from his northern expedition, having ascertained that there was no communication with the Western Ocean by Davis's Strait; for the natives had conducted one of his seamen to the head of Davis's Strait, which terminated in a fresh-water lake, of about eighty miles in circumference, in the eightieth degree of north latitude, and that there were prodigious mountains to the north of it, besides an immense barrier of ice along the shore. Here terminate the discoveries of De Fonte and his officers. But it is surprising that, after having descended the river Parmentier from Lake Belle till he found in the north-east a ship arrived from New England, he should

conclude his narrative by declaring "that he had proved there was no communication with the South Sea through what they call the north-west passage." This account of De Fonte's expedition, in which the writer has attempted to ingraft a vague knowledge of the interior of North America on a genuine but obscure voyage, has been generally supposed to have had no foundation in reality. Yet we shall not, perhaps, err far from the truth, if we admit that a Spanish admiral did actually discover, in 1640, a great archipelago in the latitude of 53°, and within it a large inlet or navigable river, which he explored to no purpose, and thence concluded that there was no north-west passage; and that the English editor of the voyage has inserted between the proceedings of the Spanish navigator and his conclusion, that monstrous series of discoveries, the navigations of Lake Velasco and Lake Belle; the descent of rapids by ships of war; the voyage of Bernardo from the lakes to lat. 77° N.; the journey of the seaman to the head of Davis's Strait; an expedition of twelve hundred leagues, completed in two months; and many other absurdities, which completely throw into the shade the small portion of useful truth which may possibly lurk in the narrative.

Sir Francis Drake, who had a second time broken open the Straits of Magellan to the navigation of Europeans, also recalled the attention of the Spaniards to the north-western coast of America, and induced them to renew researches which had now almost fallen into oblivion. In order to afford some protection to the Spanish galleons bound from Manilla to Acapulco from the English and Dutch cruisers, it was determined to explore the external coast of California for some secure haven which might be fortified. Sebastian Viscayno was charged with this mission, and set sail from Acapulco on the 6th of May, 1602, with two ships,—a frigate, and decked boat. He visited a great number of islands and harbours, and had to struggle continually against the north-west winds which prevail upon that coast. At length he succeeded in discovering, towards the lat. of 36° 40′, a harbour to which,

in honour of the viceroy, he gave the name of *Puerto de Monterey*, and which has since become the seat of the principal settlement of the Spaniards on the north-west coast of America. Port San Diego, in 32° 40′, did not escape Viscayno's attention; but Monterey was thought preferable, being more easy of access, and nearer to the parallel in which ships return from the Philippine Islands. Later navigators, however, give a less favourable description of this harbour. They represent it as a spacious and open bay, in which only a few vessels can find shelter and good anchorage. Viscayno afterwards advanced as far as the parallel of Cape Mendocino, in 41° 30′, of which he got a sight. But sickness increasing on board his ships, he gave over the further prosecution of his researches, and hastened his return to Acapulco. He warmly urged the court of Spain to allow him to renew his discoveries in the north-west, and to fix a colony at Puerto de Monterey. But that dilatory and ungrateful government turned a deaf ear to his importunities; and Viscayno died before his requests were granted. It is said that one of Viscayno's captains in this expedition, named Martin de Aguilar, being separated from the squadron by the violence of the winds, succeeded in doubling Cape Mendocino, which, till then, had been only seen from a distance. Thirty leagues farther to the north he discovered a second cape, or point, to which he gave the name of *Cape Blanco*. Beyond this, the coast declined to the eastward; and here he discovered a broad and navigable inlet, which he supposed to be the mouth of a great river leading to the celebrated city called Quivira. The rapidity of the current prevented him from ascending the river; and being forced to relinquish this attempt, and recollecting, besides, that the mission of Viscayno had no object but to discover a good harbour, which had been accomplished, he thought it more prudent to return, without delay, to Acapulco.

Recent researches, as we have already had occasion to observe, have found no traces of the celebrated city of

Quivira; and had Aguilar pretended to have himself seen it, the truth of his relation might be justly suspected. But the fictions which pervade his account can be easily explained from the opinions of his age. However, the secrecy which the Spanish nation affected to preserve with respect to their discoveries was injurious to the credit of the Spanish navigators. Mystery naturally gives rise to mistrust; and mankind are disposed to call in question claims of discovery which are not placed in the most satisfactory light. The voyages of Quiros, Torres, and others, were by many regarded as mere fictions; and that of Viscayno met with so little credit or attention, that even at the end of the seventeenth century it was still doubted whether California were an island or a peninsula.

The Dutch, however, who felt no inclination to conceal from the world the fruits of enterprises which reflected honour on their nation, shone with great lustre as discoverers during the early half of the seventeenth century. In the same year (1606) in which Torres sailed to the south of New Guinea, and descried land to the south, which was, no doubt, a part of Australia, a Dutch vessel made a similar discovery. A yacht, called the Duyfhen, discovered in that year, we are told, the south and west coasts of New Guinea, for nearly 1000 miles, from 5° to 13½°. This extensive country was for the most part desert; but in some places they found it inhabited by wild, cruel, black savages, who murdered some of the crew, and prevented the Dutch from examining the country. Want of provisions compelled them to return; and to the farthest point of the land that was seen by them they gave the name of *Cape Keer Weer*, or Turn-again. As Torres supposed the land which lay to the south of his course was a part of the great archipelago through which he sailed, he attached no importance to his discovery; and the results of his voyage being but little known, there was no opportunity of correcting his error. The Dutch, on the other hand, believed the land which they coasted to be the southern portion of New Guinea, and

by this mistake robbed the discovery of its greatest interest. In consequence, the first discovery of New Holland has been generally ascribed to Theodoric Hertoge, who, on his passage from Holland to the East Indies, in a small vessel called the Eendracht, or Concord, fell in with the western coast of that great continent in about 25° S. To the part seen by him he gave the name of the *Land of Eendracht*, which is preserved in modern maps, with those of Dirk Hertoge's Cape and Road. This discovery was zealously followed up by the Dutch in the East Indies. In 1618, Zeachen discovered the northern coast of Australia, in those parts which are named the lands of *Arnhem* and *Diemen*. Jan Edels ran along the western coast in 1619, and left his name to his discoveries. In 1622, was seen that portion of the land called *Leuwin's Coast*. De Nuitz examined, in 1627, the southern coast, to which he gave his name; and in the following year De Witt continued his researches. In the same year, a Dutch commander, named Carpenter, discovered and gave his name to the coast called *Carpentaria*. Thus the Dutch, within a very few years, had made a general survey of the whole western and northern coasts of that extensive region, and imposed names on its different portions, which served as memorials of their discoveries.

But the merit by which the Dutch navigators in the East Indies so soon eclipsed the Portuguese who had preceded them, was much more their enlightenment than their enterprise. There is strong reason to suspect that the Portuguese had some knowledge of Australia nearly a century before it was visited by the Dutch. Two maps are preserved in the library of the British Museum which tend forcibly to strengthen this opinion. In one of these, written in French, and supposed to have been drawn about 1550, there is placed to the south of Asia a great island, the position of which exactly corresponds with that of Australia. A narrow passage separates it from Java. Timor is placed to the north-east. This large country is called Great Java. Among the names

which are written on its coasts, there occurs that of *Côte des Herbaiges*, or Botany Coast, somewhat to the north of the modern Botany Bay. To the south of that we meet with other names at considerable distances, such as *Côte des Gracal*, and a great promontory called *Cap de Fromose*. Still farther to the south is marked a *goufre*, which means perhaps, not properly a gulf, but a great bay or inlet. The line which bounds the map cuts this great island, and leaves its extent undetermined. The names Gracal and Fromose occurring here seem to be Portuguese, and give rise to the suspicion that this map has been translated from that language. This suspicion is confirmed by the *Hydrography of John Rotz*, dated in 1542, which is also preserved in the British Museum. This curious manuscript is written in English; but it is conjectured that its author was one of those Flemings who passed into England in 1540 with Anne of Cleves. Here Australia, which is called the Land of Java, is drawn nearly as it was in the seventeenth century, previous to the voyage of Abel Tasman. A comparison of this map with the foregoing leads to the conjecture that the maps of Rotz are the originals; for in them are found many Portuguese names, which in the other are translated into French. In both, Borneo is placed with tolerable correctness; which at once refutes the supposition that the great island is intended for Borneo, named Great Java by Marco Polo. The same indications have been seen in other maps of the same age. When it is considered that New Guinea was discovered, according to the Portuguese, by Menezes, in 1527, and, according to the Spaniards, a year later, by Saavedra; when we reflect on the negligence and illiberality which have obscured all the discoveries of these two nations, and then turn to consider the indications detailed above; it will be difficult to avoid concluding that the Spaniards and Portuguese visited the northern and even eastern coasts of New Holland nearly a century before that country was discovered by the Dutch.

Hitherto no limits had been set by the discoveries of the Dutch to the extension of the Terra Australis towards the east and south. But in 1642 the governor and council at Batavia fitted out two ships to prosecute the discovery of the South Land, as it was still called, principally with a view to ascertain its extent. The command of this expedition was given to captain Abel Jansen Tasman; and the result justified the choice: for few voyages since that of Magellan contributed more to the perfection of geography. Tasman sailed first to the Mauritius: he left that island on the 8th of October, directing his course generally to the south-east. On the 27th a great deal of duck-weed was seen, and it was resolved to keep a man constantly at the topmast-head to look out for land, and that whoever first discovered land or shoals should receive a reward of three reals and a pot of arrack. Floating weeds were frequently seen in abundance, and awakened the expectations of the seamen; yet no land was discovered till the 24th of November, when, about four o'clock in the afternoon, high land with mountains, about ten miles distant, was descried, extending from the north-east towards the south. It was resolved immediately to run off to sea for five hours during the night, and then to stand in close to land. Tasman found himself in lat. 42° 50′ and lon. 163° 50′. He observed also that near the coast the variation of the compass suddenly decreased, and the needle pointed true north. To the land which he had discovered he gave the name of Antony Van Diemen's Land, in honour of the governor-general, who had prepared the expedition. Some of his crew went on shore, but found no inhabitants; they saw, however, trees, in which steps were cut for people to climb up in search of birds'-nests. The country was furnished all over with trees, which stood so thin as never to interrupt the distant prospect. From the ships they could see people on shore; and smoke was observed to rise from the woods. On the 2d of December they cleared the southernmost point of the land, and stood for some

time to the northward; but on the 5th they steered to the east, and soon lost sight of land.

Tasman had thus sailed round to the south of Australia, and proved that the South Land did not extend indefinitely to the pole as it was supposed. On the 14th, in lon. 189° 3′, land was again descried to the east. The mountains were concealed in clouds; but the ships approached so near to the coast that they could see the waves breaking on the shore. No people were seen, nor fires; and the country had a barren appearance. The ships sailed along it towards the north, and on the 18th came to anchor in a sheltered bay; after sunset, lights were seen on the shore, and four vessels were observed approaching the ships. The islanders called to the Dutch in a strong rough voice, and sounded an instrument that resembled a Moorish trumpet. The Dutch blew their trumpets in return; and this salutation was repeated several times; but the natives still kept at a distance from the ship, and as it grew dark returned to the shore. In the morning they repeated their visit. "They called to us several times," says Tasman, "but their language had nothing in it like the vocabulary of the Salomon Islands given to us by the general and council at Batavia. These people, as well as we could judge, were of our own common stature, strong boned, and of a rough voice. Their colour is between brown and yellow; their hair black, which they tie up on the crown of the head like to the Japanese, and wear a large white feather upright in it. Their vessels were two narrow long canoes fastened together, upon which boards were fixed to sit on. Their paddles were more than a fathom long, and were pointed at the end. Their clothing seemed to us to be of mats or of cotton, but most of them went with their breast naked."

As the islanders seemed to have friendly intentions, the Dutch prepared to anchor nearer to the shore; but they soon discovered their mistake: seven canoes came off rapidly from the shore, and stationed themselves near the ships; and observing a boat full of Dutch carrying

orders from one ship to another, the canoes of the natives made rapidly towards her, and struck her so violently with their beaks as nearly to upset her. The natives then commenced their attack on the crew with their clubs and paddles: three of the Dutch were killed, and one was mortally wounded; the rest saved their lives by swimming. The natives then returned to the shore with one of the dead bodies; but the others, with the boat, they left behind. All hope of friendly intercourse with the islanders being thus at an end, the Dutch weighed anchor, and stood out to sea: when they were under sail, twenty-two canoes, eleven of which were full of people, advanced rapidly towards them. The Dutch, however, fired their guns at them, and forced them to make a precipitate retreat. This bay was named by Tasman *Moordenaares* (Murderers') *Bay*. Of this inhospitable land he observes—"This is the second land discovered by us; we named it *Staten Land*, in honour of the states-general. It is possible that it may join the other Staten Land (of Schouten and Le Maire, to the south of Tierra del Fuego), but it is uncertain: it is a very fine country, and we hope it is part of the unknown south continent." The Staten Land of Tasman has since received the name of *New Zealand*.

The Dutch ships continued for several days to run northward along the coast, and on the 5th of January saw a small island, which they proceeded to examine in search of fresh water; but the surf was so violent that it was impossible to effect a landing. Several natives were seen on the island, armed with staves or clubs, and resembling the other New Zealanders in the hoarseness of their voices: they appeared to be very tall, and in walking took great strides. This island was named *Drie Koning* (Three Kings') *Island*, from the circumstance of its being discovered on the day of the epiphany.

It was now resolved to sail eastward as far as lon. 220°, and then to steer towards the north. Staten Land, or New Zealand, was soon lost sight of. No land was seen on this course for twelve days; but at the end of

that time, a high rocky island, not more than three miles in circumference, was discovered, and called *Phaëtuart* (Tropic Bird) *Island*, from the multitude of those birds that flocked around it. Two days after, in lat. 21° 20′ S. and in lon. 205°. 29′ E., were discovered two islands about a mile and a half asunder; to the northern island, where the Hollanders found plenty of provisions, they gave the name of *Amsterdam*. This was the principal island of the group which captain Cook afterwards named the Friendly Islands, and is called by the natives *Tonga-tabu*. The island which lay to the south (*the Eooa* of the natives) received from the Dutch the name of *Middleburgh*. Shortly after, three natives came off to the ships in a canoe: they were of a brown complexion and nearly naked: their stature seemed to exceed that of Europeans. The Dutch threw to them a piece of white linen; and as it began to sink, one of the islanders jumped out of his canoe and dived after it. He remained a long time under water, but at length came up with the linen, which he placed several times upon his head to signify his gratitude. They were then presented with two large nails, a string of beads, and a small Chinese looking-glass; in return for which they gave to the Dutch a fishing line and one of their hooks: the latter was made of shell like a small anchovy. The looking-glass and beads they placed upon their heads. The Dutch showed them an old cocoa nut and a fowl, and asked for hogs and for fresh water in the best terms their vocabularies could supply them with; but the islanders did not seem to understand them: however, the friendly correspondence, thus commenced, improved very rapidly. In the afternoon, numbers of people were seen running along the shore bearing white flags; and the Dutch, supposing this to be a sign of peace, answered it by hoisting white flags at the sterns of their ships. This was no sooner done than four large and handsome men came off to the ships, and boarded Tasman's vessel. They brought a present of cloth made of the bark of a tree; and from this gift, as well as from

the appearance of their canoe, it was judged that they were messengers from the king or chief of the island. The Dutch filled a glass with wine, and drank it to show them that it was not hurtful; and then filling the glass again, offered it to them; but they threw away the wine and carried off the glass to shore. Canoes now came off in numbers, loaded with cocoa-nuts, which the Dutch purchased at an easy rate. An old man, who was understood to be a chief, also came on board: and a cup of water being shown to him, he intimated by signs that fresh water might be had on shore. About sunset, above twenty canoes stationed themselves in regular order near the ship. The natives who were in them cried out several times, *Woo, woo!* on which all those that remained on board sat down; and one of the canoes coming close to the vessel, brought a present from the king of a fine large hog and a number of cocoa-nuts and yams. The messenger who brought this received in return a plate and some brass wire. The Dutch were pleased to find that this advantageous traffic flourished rapidly. On the following day the ships were surrounded with canoes bearing cocoa-nuts, yams, bananas, plantains, hogs, and fowls, which were exchanged for nails, beads, and linen. Several women, both old and young, likewise came on board. The elder women had the little finger cut off from both hands. One of the great guns was fired off, at which the islanders at first were not a little frightened; but seeing that no harm was done, they soon recovered their spirits. An attempt was made to procure water, but to no purpose, the wells being small and scantily supplied. The men who went in search of it were conducted by the natives into an agreeable valley, where they were seated upon mats, and fresh water presented to them in cocoa-nut shells. The native chief, when he learned the wants of the strangers, ordered the wells to be made larger, and entertained his visiters with fruits, fresh fish, and cocoa-nuts. "He behaved to us," says Tasman, "with great friendship, and enquired of us whence we came and

where we intended to go. We told him that we had been more than a hundred days at sea, at which he and the natives were much astonished. We explained to them that we came to their country for water and provisions; and they answered that we should have as much as we wished for. These people have no idea of tobacco or of smoking. We saw no arms among them; so that here was altogether peace and friendship."

Fresh provisions were coming in rapidly, and new gratification was expected from the improved acquaintance with the natives, when one of the Dutch ships was driven from her anchorage by the strength of the trade wind, and drifted out to sea. On the following day the other vessel stood out to join her; and as the strength of the wind rendered it very difficult to make the island again, it was resolved to abandon the design, and to proceed on the voyvge. It is gratifying to observe that the first intercourse of Europeans with the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands was not sullied by any of those acts of tyranny and violence which in other parts of the South Sea have drawn upon them the determined animosity of the natives.

Proceeding north-east, Tasman's ships arrived in a few hours at a group of islands, near the largest of which they found good anchorage. The Dutch went on shore in search of fresh water, and received the same attention from the natives here which they had received from those of Amsterdam Island. They saw several pieces of cultivated ground, or gardens, in which the beds were regularly laid out into squares and planted with different vegetables and fruits; bananas and other trees ranged in straight lines made an agreeable appearance, and spread a fine perfume around them. At this appearance of happiness and industry Tasman rather harshly observes, "So that among these people, who have the form of the human species, but no human manners, you may see traces of reason and understanding. They know nothing about religion or divine worship; they have no idols, relics, or priests, but they have nevertheless superstitions;

for I saw a man take up a water-snake which was near his boat, and put it respectfully on his head, and then again into the water. They kill no flies, though they are very numerous and plague them extremely. Our steersman accidently killed a fly in the presence of one of the principal people, who could not conceal his anger at it." To this island, which the natives called Amamocka, Tasman gave the name of *Rotterdam*.

The Dutch ships now held their course westward, and in six days arrived at a group of small islands surrounded to a great distance by shoals and dangerous reefs. He named them respectively *Prince William's Islands* and *Heemskirk's shoals*. This group has been seen but seldom since it was first discovered, navigators studiously avoiding the dangerous reefs which Tasman descried in their neighbourhood. The islands called by Le Maire Onthona Java, and Marken, were the next that occurred. The ship was visited by a canoe full of natives from the latter island; they were much darker than the inhabitants of Amsterdam Island, and less friendly in their demeanour. Some of them resembled the New Zealanders, and one had rings through his nose. The Green Islands of Le Maire, which lay still farther to the west, were reached in four days: here the inhabitants were quite black; their hair was curled, but not so woolly as that of the negroes, nor were their noses quite so flat; they were quite naked, but wore bracelets apparently made of bone, and some of them had their faces painted. The Dutch spoke to them from their vocabulary of the language of New Guinea, but were not understood in any thing except the word *lamas*, which signifies cocoa-nuts. At Fisher's Islands, still nearer to New Guinea, a number of canoes came off to the ships: they gave the Dutch a small quantity of sago, which was the only article of food they had in their boats. The Hollanders called out to them *anieuw, oufi, ponacka*, which in the language of the Salomon Islands signify cocoa-nuts, yams, and pork; and the natives seemed to understand them, for they pointed to the land and soon

after departed. These people were as black as Hottentots; their faces were painted red, their hair was powdered with lime and ochre, and bones as thick as the little finger were stuck through their noses.

In a very few days Tasman arrived at the eastern extremity of New Guinea, and held his course along the northern side of that great country, nearly in the same route which had formerly been followed by Le Maire. At the small islands Garana and Moa he purchased 6000 cocoa-nuts and about a hundred bunches of bananas for the two ships. In order to help them in their traffic with the natives, the Dutch took pieces of iron hoop, which they fitted into handles, in the form of knives, and ground them till they looked sharp and bright. The west point of New Guinea, Tasman informs us, is a remarkably broken hilly land; the coast is full of turnings, with innumerable bays and islands near it; and the currents in many places are as strong as the tide before the pier-head at Flushing. The two ships arrived at Batavia after a prosperous voyage of nine months and a few days.

Tasman was an able as well as fortunate navigator. By his circumnavigation of New Holland he reduced very much the limits of the Terra Australis, and thereby made a great step to rid geography of its most important errors. He supposed, it is true, that his Staten Land, or New Zealand, might be connected with the Staten Land of Le Maire at the extremity of America, so that the great *Terra Australis incognita* might hem in the Pacific Ocean on the south; but he never insisted on this hypothesis, which could hardly be entertained by seamen who had doubled Cape Horn. About the year 1662, a new stadthouse was built at Amsterdam, the old edifice having been destroyed by fire. Among the ornaments of the new building was a map of the world cut in stone, in which was marked the discoveries of Tasman. Three years later, the name *Nova Hollandia*, or New Holland, was given to the western part of Terra Australis by the direction of the states-general.

Some years previous to this, the Dutch had despatched a strong fleet, consisting of eleven ships of war, under the command of Jacques l'Hermite, to attack the Spanish possessions in the South Sea. This armament, the most formidable and best furnished which had yet entered the great ocean, met with no success. It failed in all its attempts on the Spanish towns, which, a few years afterwards, yielded all their treasures to a handful of buccaneers. Neither did geography benefit any thing from this expedition, which, compared with that of Le Maire, forcibly exhibits the great superiority in skill and conduct which usually distinguishes private from public enterprises.

CHAP. XIX.

EXPEDITIONS OF THE BUCCANEERS IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

RISE OF THE BUCCANEERS.—OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT OF THE SPANIARDS.—THE CRUISERS SUPPLY THEMSELVES WITH THE CATTLE OF CUBA.—CARIB MODE OF PREPARING THE FLESH.—THE NAME OF THE BUCCANEERS.—THEIR CUSTOMS.—SETTLEMENT OF ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—THE BUCCANEERS SEIZE TORTUGA.—ELECT A CHIEF.—EXPLOITS OF HENRY MORGAN.—HE TAKES PORTO BELLO.—MARCHES TO PANAMA.—THE BUCCANEERS EMBARK ON THE SOUTH SEA.—THEIR ADVENTURES.—LOSE A RICH PRIZE THROUGH IGNORANCE.—LEAVE WILLIAM THE INDIAN ON JUAN FERNANDEZ.—THEY RETURN ROUND CAPE HORN.—THE BUCCANEERS UNDER DAVIS.—DAMPIER RETURNS HOME IN THE CYGNET.—THE FLYING PROAS.—RECEPTION OF THE BUCCANEERS AT MINDANAO.—THE FIVE ISLANDS.—THE NATIVES OF NEW HOLLAND DESCRIBED.—WRECK OF THE CYGNET.—DAMPIER SENT ON DISCOVERY.—COASTS NEW HOLLAND.—ROSEMARY ISLAND.—PROCEEDS TO NEW GUINEA.—DISCOVERS A STRAIT.—NEW BRITANNIA.—HOMEWARD VOYAGE.—THE ROEBUCK WRECKED AT ASCENSION ISLAND.—RETURN OF DAMPIER.

WHILE the Spanish settlements in the Pacific Ocean were threatened by great armaments fitted out by rival

nations, they were at the same time attacked by a singular and more formidable hostility, which originated in the defects of a severe and contracted policy. The association and the enterprises of the buccaneers, if they did not in the first instance benefit Geography, tended at least to familiarise European seamen with the navigation of the Pacific Ocean, and gave an air of facility to undertakings which had before been regarded as difficult in the extreme.

The despotic administration of the Spanish colonies in the West Indies incurred the very evils which it sought to avoid. Even the Spaniards themselves felt oppressed by the numerous restrictions which were placed on trade; and gave stealthy encouragement to foreign interlopers, who supplied them at an easier rate with articles which could not be legally procured without paying enormous exactions. English traders soon made their appearance in these seas; and, as the Spanish authorities on the one hand treated them as enemies, or even as pirates, while on the other they were invited by the profits of a contraband trade, they soon learned to adopt the precaution of going well armed.

The cruelties of the Spaniards to the native inhabitants of Cuba terminated in the depopulation of that fine island. The cattle at the same time multiplied in great numbers, and roved over the deserted tracts of its western districts. This, in consequence, became the victualling place of all the foreign vessels that cruised upon the Spaniards or disturbed their trade. The preparation of the meat became a regular business. Spanish hunters called *matadores*, or slaughterers, killed the cattle; the flesh was then dried and prepared according to the Carib method, on hurdles raised a few feet above the fire. This mode of dressing their food was called by the Indians *boócan*, — a name which they also applied to the apparatus used in the process, and to the meat itself: hence the persons who were employed in procuring provisions for the cruisers, adopting the language with the habits of the natives, called themselves *buc-*

caneers. A large majority of the adventurers in those seas were Englishmen; and, as their smuggling trade quickly degenerated into actual piracy, they took the honourable designation of freebooters. There was a natural alliance between the freebooters and buccaneers; they mutually depended on one another; the avocations of the one party being at sea, those of the other on land. It is probable that in many instances the pirate cured his own provisions, and so united both professions in his own person. But in general the hunters were distinct from the seamen; and, in process of time, a majority of the hunters, or buccaneers were French, while the rovers were chiefly English: yet the adventurers of these two nations whimsically thought fit to borrow the name of their profession from the language of the other, as if the respectability of their calling could be enhanced, or its criminality palliated, by a foreign name; and the English called themselves buccaneers, while the French preferred the title of freebooters, or corruptedly, *flibustiers*. All these adventurers, of whatever nation, cruised upon the Spaniards, who were the sole objects of attack. A sense of common interest bound them together, and formed them into a society which styled itself *The brethren of the coast*. The buccaneers had peculiar customs, which obtained among them, from necessity or tradition, the authority of law. Their code of morality was such as might be expected among men who, while they renounced a friendly intercourse with the rest of mankind, depended upon each other's fidelity. Every buccaneer had a mate, who was the heir to all his money. In some instances, a community of property existed amongst them. Negligence of dress, and even dirtiness, was prescribed by their fashions, as best befitting a desperado. But when, in case of war between their nation and the Spaniards, they could obtain commissions, they were always ready to take the name of privateers.

The increase of the buccaneers in the Spanish West Indies was regarded with satisfaction by other European states; for they reasoned, with the laxity of political

morality, that they might profit from illegal proceedings, which at the same time they were not called upon to avow. At length the trade carried on by these adventurers grew so important as to attract the attention of France and England, which accordingly combined to plant on the same day confederated colonies of each nation on the island of St. Christopher. Discord soon broke out between the French and English settlers; and, as the latter received no succours from home during the agitations of the civil war, the French grew predominant in the colony, and the English were obliged to betake themselves to sea. Various settlements were now made by adventurers throughout the West Indian islands, those of the same nation generally associating together; and, as they grew into importance, they were claimed by that crown of which a majority of the colonists were subjects.

The settlement of St. Christopher's owed its origin to the successes of the buccaneers. These were regarded by the colonists as friends and powerful allies; for both united in their enmity to the Spaniards. The buccaneers were pleased to find themselves countenanced or connived at by legal governments, and colonies offered a prospect of an increased market for their trade. Becoming more confident in their strength, they seized on the little island of Tortuga, situated a few leagues from the eastern extremity of Cuba, in a convenient position for trade, and for procuring cattle. This was the first step of the buccaneers towards forming themselves into an independent society; but the impolitic severity of the Spaniards soon after forced them to take one of still greater importance. A party of Spanish troops surprised Tortuga, while most of the buccaneers were hunting on the main land, or cruising in their vessels; and those surprised on the island were hanged as pirates without mercy or distinction. From this severe blow the buccaneers learned the necessity of observing some regularity in their proceedings; and, for the first time, they elected a commander. National animosity and the love of gain

have more influence on mankind than terror; and the ranks of the buccaneers, after their loss at Tortuga, were speedily recruited. In 1654, a large party of them ascended a river of the Mosquito shore in canoes; and after struggling nearly a month against a rapid stream and waterfalls, they marched across the country to New Segovia, which they plundered, and safely returned down the river. As they acknowledged no claims to rank but conduct and courage, their leaders were all remarkable for personal prowess and daring exploits; but they never felt the compunctions of humanity, and ferocious cruelties stained the glory of their successes.

Among the most distinguished and fortunate of these terrible leaders ranks a Welshman, named Henry Morgan, under whose government the affairs of the buccaneers attained their most flourishing condition. In 1664, he began to be regarded as their chief. His first exploit was of the boldest character. With a body of 700 men, who placed themselves under his command, he took and plundered the town of Puerto del Principe in Cuba, the centre of the Spanish forces. His next undertaking was against Porto Bello, one of the principal and best fortified ports belonging to the Spaniards in the West Indies. He had only 460 men under his command; but his advance was so rapid, that he came on the town by surprise, and found it unprepared. In storming a castle which held out, he compelled his prisoners, chiefly religious of both sexes, to apply the scaling-ladders to the walls. When the garrison surrendered, he shut them up in the castle, and then, setting fire to the magazine, destroyed the fort and its defenders together. He afterwards sacked Maracaibo, and the neighbouring town of Gibraltar; and, emboldened by his success, he consulted with his officers which of the three places, Carthagena, Vera Cruz, and Panama, he should next attack. Panama was believed to be the richest, and on that city the lot fell. Morgan had at this time under his command no less than thirty-seven armed vessels, and above two thousand men.

This important expedition was not accomplished without great toil and fatigue. But on the ninth day of their journey the buccaneers came in sight of the South Sea, and towards evening they could distinguish the steeples of Panama. The Spaniards, though superior in numbers, were defeated in a pitched battle, and the buccaneers became masters of the city. In their cruelties, no sex nor condition was spared. Many of the inhabitants escaped with their effects by sea, and sought shelter among the islands in the Bay of Panama. But Morgan, launching a large boat, and filling it with a numerous and well-armed crew, sent it in pursuit of them. These made prizes of several vessels, one of which was well adapted for cruising. Here a new prospect was opened; and some of the buccaneers began to consult how they might quit Morgan, and seek their fortunes on the South Sea, whence they might sail, with the plunder they should obtain, by the East Indies to Europe. But Morgan took effectual measures to prevent this defection, and returned safely from Panama, taking with him 600 prisoners, some of them carrying burdens, and 175 mules laden with spoil. A few years afterwards he was knighted, and made deputy-governor of Jamaica; in which office he displayed unusual severity towards his old associates.

The authority of Morgan deferred, but did not defeat altogether, the design of the buccaneers. On the 5th of April, 1680, a party of 331, mostly English, commenced their march across the Isthmus of Darien; each man provided with four cakes of bread, called dough-boys, with a fusil, a pistol, and a hanger. Among these adventurers were William Dampier, who does not appear to have been distinguished at that time for the talents which afterwards procured him so much celebrity, and Lionel Wafer, so well known for his excellent description of Darien. At Santa Maria they embarked in canoes, and a small vessel, which was found anchored near the town, and commenced their courses in the South Sea. They soon captured several vessels, richly laden, and abandoning their canoes, they embarked in their prizes. After scour-

ing the coast near Panama, they steered southward for Peru. They touched at the island of Gorgona, and afterwards at that of Juan Fernandez: here they found the shore covered with seals and sea-lions; innumerable sea birds had their nests among the rocks; cray-fish and lobsters were in abundance; and, on the island itself, goats were in such plenty that, beside what they ate during their stay, they killed about 100 for salting, and took away as many alive. While lying here, three sail, believed to be Spanish ships of war, were descried at a distance; all hands were immediately called on board, the cable was slipped, and the ship put to sea. But in this hurry it happened that William, a Mosquito Indian, who accompanied the buccaneers, being absent in the woods hunting goats, and hearing nothing of the alarm, was left behind; nor is this, perhaps, the first instance of a solitary individual being left to inhabit Juan Fernandez. The buccaneers pursued their course to the south, with indifferent success: they took a ship, named the San Rosario, from Callao, laden with wine, brandy, oil, and fruit, and with as much money in her as yielded ninety-four dollars to each buccaneer. But beside the lading already mentioned, the San Rosario contained 700 pigs of plate, which the buccaneers supposed to be tin, and therefore neglected: only one pig was taken for the purpose of making bullets; the rest was left behind in the Rosario, which was turned adrift. But on their arrival at Antigua, the buccaneers showed a specimen of this metal to a goldsmith, who immediately knew it to be pure silver, and sold it in England for 70*l.* sterling. Thus they lost their richest booty by their ignorance and impatience.

In their progress to the south of the coast of Chili, they reconnoitred the islands of the archipelago which had been previously surveyed by Sarmiento, and named them the *Duke of York's Islands*. They took a young Indian here, who could open large muscles with his fingers which the buccaneers could scarcely manage with their knives. To this young prisoner, who was very wild and insensible,

they gave the name of Orson. They doubled Cape Horn at a great distance from land, and fell in with large masses of floating ice. On their arrival in the West Indies, their commander, Sharpe, and a few others, were tried for piracy in the South Sea, at the instance of the Spanish ambassador, but were acquitted for want of evidence. Thus terminated this most extraordinary expedition, which was begun in canoes and finished in good ships.

The next expedition of the buccaneers into the South Seas was made from the Atlantic, and with better equipments. About seventy adventurers, among whom were William Dampier, Edward Davis, Lionel Wafer, and Ambrose Cowley, commanded by John Cook, sailed from the Chesapeake in August, 1683, in an eighteen gun ship which they had captured not long before. They first steered to the coast of Guinea; at Sierra Leone they captured by an ingenious stratagem a Danish ship, mounting thirty-six guns, victualled and stored for a long voyage. They all embarked in the new ship, which they named the Bachelor's Delight; and setting their prisoners on shore to shift for themselves as they could, they burnt their old vessel "that she might tell no tales." In their run towards the Straits of Magellan they saw an island, to which Cowley gave the name of Pepys' Island. Not far from it he saw another, "which made me," he says, "to think them the Sibble D'wards" (Sebald de Weerts),—a conjecture which might have spared him the trouble of giving him a new title to this many-named group. In rounding Cape Horn "the ship was tossed about like an egg-shell." She soon after joined company with the Nicholas of London, commanded by John Eaton, a ship fitted out in the Thames on pretence of trading, but in reality for a piratical voyage. At the Straits of Magellan the Nicholas had met the Cygnet, a trading vessel commanded by captain Swan, who had a license from the duke of York, the lord high admiral of England, but they were afterwards separated by bad weather. Many of the bucca-

neers in the Bachelor's Delight had accompanied the former expedition in 1680, when William the Mosquito Indian had been left behind in Juan Fernandez. On arriving at this island now a second time, they immediately lowered a boat, and hastened to the shore to try whether they could find any traces of their former comrade. A Mosquito Indian named Robin, and Dampier, were in the boat. As they drew near the land they were delighted to see William at the water's edge, waiting to receive them. Dampier gives the following affecting account of their meeting:—"Robin, his countryman, was the first who leaped ashore from the boats; and running to his brother Mosquito man, threw himself flat on his face at his feet, who, helping him up, and embracing him, fell flat with his face on the ground at Robin's feet, and was by him taken up also. We stood with pleasure to behold the surprise, tenderness, and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides; and when their ceremonies were over, we also, that stood gazing at them, drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends come hither, as he thought, purposely to fetch him." William had lived in solitude on Juan Fernandez above three years. The clothes with which he had landed were worn out, and his only covering was a goat-skin round his waist. He had built himself a hut, which he lined with goat-skins, about half a mile from the shore. When first left on the island he had with him his musket, a knife, a small horn of powder, and some shot: "but when his ammunition was expended, he contrived by notching his knife to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, wherewith he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife; heating the pieces of iron first in the fire, and then hammering them out as he pleased with stones. This may seem strange to those who are not acquainted with the sagacity of the Indians; but it is no more than what the Mosquito men are accustomed to do in their own country." He

saw the two ships the day before they cast anchor; and from their manœuvring, believing them to be English, he killed three goats, which he dressed with vegetables, thus preparing a banquet for his friends.

At the Galapagos the buccaneers found abundance of the large green turtle, which have given their name to those islands. Here they built storehouses, in which they lodged a large quantity of their prize flour to serve for future occasions. The chart of the Galapagos made by Cowley during this visit is still valued by navigators. Soon after, John Cook died, and was succeeded in the command by Edward Davis. He was joined on the coast of Peru by the Cygnet, for captain Swan found it impossible to dispose of his goods on account of the suspicion with which the Spaniards regarded him; and as he allowed on board a number of buccaneers (who at this time rushed in crowds to the South Sea), he was easily persuaded to join in their pursuits.

About this time Eaton, in the Nicholas, left the buccaneers under Davis, and sailed for the East Indies. Ambrose Cowley, the historian of his voyage, accompanied him. On their arrival at the Ladrones, they immediately quarrelled with the natives, and killed a number of them. The Spanish governor in a conference expressed a wish that he had killed them all. On this, Cowley, who writes in the spirit of a buccaneer, observes, "We then made wars with these infidels, and went on shore every day, fetching provisions, and firing upon them wherever we saw them; so that the greatest part of them left the island. The whole land is a garden." He relates in the same vein of brutal jocularity the behaviour of his companions to the Indians assembled peaceably on the shore. "Our people that were in the boat let go in amongst the thickest of them, and killed a great many of their number. The others, seeing their mates fall, ran away. Our other men who were on shore, meeting them, saluted them also by making holes in their hides." The Nicholas reached England without any accident.

The buccaneers under Davis in the mean time scoured the South Sea, and took a great number of prizes. They mustered above a thousand men, distributed in nine or ten vessels. They were foiled, however, in their attack on a Spanish fleet that was sent against them; the towns along the coast were no longer to be surprised; so that, finding the profit by no means proportioned to the great risks they ran, after cruising three years in the South Seas they determined to return home. Leaving their retreat at the Galapagos accordingly, the squadron under Davis steered southward, and in lat. 27° 20′ S. discovered a low island, which is generally supposed to be Easter Island. In this part of their course they felt a dreadful shock, as if the ship had struck on a rock; but they found no soundings, and seeing the sea turn white as if mixed with sand, they concluded it to be an earthquake,—a conjecture, which they afterwards found to be correct. When they felt this shock they were 150 leagues from the main land of America, where Lima experienced its fatal effects. When Davis and his companions arrived at the West India Islands, in 1688, a proclamation had been recently issued, offering the king's pardon to all the buccaneers who would abandon that course of life and claim the benefit of the proclamation. Our adventurers, who were not without money, availed themselves of this opportunity of enjoying some repose. Davis returned to England, and was always regarded by his old companions with the esteem and respect due to the generosity of his temper and his ability as a seaman.

Captain Swan, in the Cygnet, accompanied by many veteran buccaneers, and by Dampier among the rest, had parted from Davis in 1685, and sailed towards the north-west, along the coast of New Spain, in hopes of intercepting some ships from Manilla, and of obtaining a rich pillage on land. At St. Pecaque, while carrying off the provisions from the town, a large body of Spaniards came suddenly upon them, and gave them the most signal defeat which the buccaneers had yet received in the

South Sea. Above fifty Englishmen and a few blacks were killed; nearly half their force. Dampier tells us that "Captain Swan had been informed by his astrologer of the great danger they were in; and several men, who went in the first party, opposed the division of their force: some of them foreboded their misfortune, and heard, as they lay down in the church at night, grievous groanings, which kept them from sleep."

On the 31st of March, 1686, they sailed westward from the American coast; and they seem to have commenced their voyage across the Pacific with a short allowance of provisions. "The kettle," Dampier tells us, "was boiled but once a-day, and there was no occasion to call the men to victuals. All hands came up to see the quarter-master share it, and he had need to be exact. We had two dogs and two cats on board, and they likewise had a small allowance given them; and they waited with as much eagerness to see it shared as we did." The first land they made was at the Ladrones, where they anchored on the west side of Guahan, about a mile from the shore. The Acapulco ship arrived here shortly after; and it was with difficulty that Swan could dissuade his heroes from attacking her. Dampier praises the ingenuity of the natives of the Ladrones, and gives a minute description of their fast-sailing canoes, called flying proas. "I have been particular," he says, "in describing these canoes, because I believe they sail the best of any boats in the world. I tried the swiftness of one of them with our log; we had twelve knots on our reel, and she ran it all out before the half-minute glass was half out. I believe she would run twenty-four miles in the hour. It was very pleasant to see the little boat running so swiftly by the other's side. I was told that one of these proas, being sent express from Guahan to Manilla (a distance of about 480 leagues), performed the voyage in four days." At Mindanao the buccaneers were well received. Being frank in manners, and regardless of their money, they became great favourites with the natives, who were surprised to see Europeans

so free from pride and griping avarice. Each of them had a native comrade, who exchanged names with him, according to the usage of the South Sea; and they were allowed also to have *pagallies*, or friends of the fair sex, with whom they might share the tender happiness of Platonic attachment. But these were dangerous familiarities among a people deadly in their resentments. While the Cygnet lay at Mindanao, sixteen of her crew died, in consequence, it was supposed, of poison: many more suffered tedious illness from the same cause.

As they wished for a secure retreat to repair their vessel, they steered for five small islands that were marked in the chart between Luconia and Formosa, and which they hoped to find uninhabited. They had no sooner anchored near one of these islands, than the ship was surrounded by canoes: the natives came on board, welcomed the strangers with a drink called *bashee*, and sold them a fat hog for an old iron hoop. The five islands now received severally the names of Grafton, Monmouth's, Orange, Goat, and Bashee Island. "The easternmost," says Dampier, "at which we careened, our men unanimously called Bashee Island, because of the quantity of that liquor which we drank there every day. This drink, called bashee, the natives make with the juice of the sugar-cane, to which they put some small black berries. It is well boiled, and then put into great jars, in which it stands three or four days to ferment. Then it settles clear, and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor, and I believe wholesome, and much like our English beer both in colour and taste. Our men drank briskly of it during several weeks, and were frequently drunk with it, and never sick in consequence." The inhabitants of these rocky islands were found to be a gentle, cleanly, and industrious people. They resembled the Chinese in features, but were darker coloured, and had larger eyes. No trace of superstition or of government was observed among them by the English; all seemed to be on an equality: yet, while the Cygnet lay here, a young man was buried alive for

some offence. When his grave was dug, his friends took their last farewell of him, and he quietly resigned himself to his fate. The ship being suddenly driven to sea by a heavy wind, six seamen were left behind on the island: but in a few days she returned to her anchorage; and the men, when they came on board, related, that when the ship was out of sight the natives redoubled their kindness towards them, and tried to persuade them to cut their hair short, according to the fashion of the islands, promising to each of them, in case of compliance, a young woman to wife, a piece of ground, and agricultural implements. These offers were declined; but on the return of the ship, the natives received for their kindness three whole bars of iron.

The Cygnet, on leaving the five islands, steered a southerly course, by Celebes and Timor, till she arrived at the north-west coast of New Holland, in 16° 50′. A party went ashore to search for water, and surprised some of the natives. Pains were taken to calm their fears, and to induce them to lend their assistance in filling the water-casks and conveying them to the boat. "But all the signs we could make," says Dampier, "were to no purpose; for they *stood* like statues, staring at one another, and grinning like so many monkeys. These poor creathres seem not accustomed to carry burdens; and I believe one of our ship's boys, of ten years old, would carry as much as one of their men." His general description of the natives of New Holland is accurate and just. "The inhabitants of this country," he says, "are the most miserable people in the world: the Hottentots, compared with them, are gentlemen. They have no houses, animals, or poultry; their persons are tall, straight bodied, thin, with long limbs; they have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows; their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes (for they are so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them from one's face), so that, from their infancy, they never open their eyes as other people do, and therefore they cannot see far unless they hold

up their heads as if they were looking at something over them. They have great bottle noses, full lips, wide mouths; the two fore teeth of the upper jaw are wanting in all of them; neither have they any beard. Their hair is short, black, and curled; and their skins coal black, like that of the negroes in Guinea. Their only food is fish, and they consequently search for them at low water; and they make little weirs, or dams with stones, across little coves of the sea. At one time, our boat being among the islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these people swimming from one island to another, for they have neither boats, canoes, nor bark logs."

Dampier quitted the Cygnet at the Nicobar Islands, and reached England in 1691. The captain and a large party continued their piratical cruising in the Indian seas, till, after a variety of adventures, they put into St. Augustine's Bay, in Madagascar, where their worn-out vessel sunk at her anchors. Some of the men embarked in European ships, and others engaged in the service of the petty kings of the island.

The association of the buccaneers gave rise to a greater number of bold navigations than had ever yet proceeded in an equal space of time from the rival states of Europe. Those who commanded in the South Sea were almost all Englishmen; and many of them were evidently able seamen, and, in other respects, men of ability. In the narratives of Dampier and of Cowley, the toils and dangers of a roving life were shown combined with much to exhilarate and delight, and a voyage round the world was no longer looked upon as a wonderful achievement. Mariners grew more daring, and ceased to associate the ideas of danger and of distance. Since the time of sir Francis Drake, England rose steadily in maritime power, and continued to send forth the most skilful and intrepid seamen; and it redounds not a little to her honour, that the first expedition equipped solely for the purpose of making geographical discoveries, and without any ulterior objects of political or commercial gain, was despatched from her shores.

In the year 1699, Great Britain being at peace with the other maritime states of Europe, king William ordered an expedition for the discovery of new countries, and for the examination of some of those before discovered, particularly New Holland and New Guinea. Dampier had recommended himself to public attention, by the agreeable narrative which he had written of his buccaneering voyages; and the earl of Pembroke made choice of him to conduct the expedition. The Roebuck, a ship belonging to the royal navy, was equipped for the purpose, and supplied with provisions for a long voyage. As New Holland was approached, the sea was found covered to a great distance with weeds, and whales were seen in unusual numbers. Dampier made the land after a voyage of six months, in lat. 26° S. and anchored, a few days after, in the very bay to which Dirk Hertoge, the first discoverer of the country, gave his name. Here he saw kanguroos, of which he gives the following strange account: — "The land animals we saw here were only a sort of racoons, but different from those of the West Indies, chiefly as to their legs; for these have very short fore legs, but go jumping, and, like the racoons, are very good meat." Sailing towards the north, he found an archipelago stretching above twenty leagues in length, which has been more recently examined by captain King. Dampier, hoping to find a passage through them to the main land, advanced a short way through intricate channels. To one of the islands, on which he landed to look for water, he gave the name of *Rosemary Island*. He then stood out to sea from the islands, and held his course toward the north. Having cleared the archipelago, he again approached the main land, where he searched in vain for water; he met, however, with inhabitants, and was obliged to discharge his musket in order to intimidate them. But they, finding that the report was not attended with any mischief, advanced with greater boldness, holding up their arms and saying *Pooh, pooh!* in contemptuous mimicry of the noise of the musket; nor would they retire till one of them was

killed. "Among these New Hollanders," says Dampier, "one who seemed to be a kind of prince, or captain, was painted with a circle of white about his eyes, and down his nose, which added much to his natural deformity; for they were all of them the most unpleasant looking and the worst featured of any people I ever saw."

He now left the shores of New Holland, and having refitted and furnished himself with fresh provisions at Timor, he stood towards New Guinea, which he first descried on New Year's day, 1700. He doubled Cape Mabo, the western extremity of that country, on the 9th of February; and then holding an easterly course at a distance from the main land, he saw land on the 27th, which he supposed to be the eastern part of New Guinea. On approaching the shore, some plantations and patches of clear ground were distinctly seen. The natives approached with an air of friendship, but the treachery of their intentions was suspected and defeated. The island of *Gerrit Denijs*, as the Dutch call it, was found to be extremely populous, and the sides of the hills were thickly set with plantations. "The natives," says Dampier, "are very black; their short curled hair is dyed of various colours, as red, white, and yellow: they have broad round faces, with great bottle noses, yet agreeable enough, except that they disfigure themselves by painting, and wearing great things through their noses, as big as a man's thumb, and about four inches long. They have also great holes in their ears, wherein they stuff such ornaments as in their noses. Their speech is clear and distinct; the words they used most when near us were, *Vacousee allamais*, pointing then to the shore." They probably invited him to purchase their cocoa-nuts, which are called *lamas* in the language of New Guinea. Dampier followed the coast of the main land to south-south-west and west, giving names to the chief havens and headlands, until, leaving Port Montague, he discovered an open sea to the north, while something like land appeared towards the south-west.

He thus found that he had circumnavigated the land, which he had supposed to be New Guinea, and that he was now sailing in the strait which separated the two countries. "The east land," he says, "afforded a very pleasant and agreeable prospect. We saw smoke, but did not strive to anchor there, choosing rather to get under one of the islands, where I thought we should find few or no inhabitants. We looked out well to the north, and seeing no land that way, I was well assured that the east land was not joined to New Guinea; therefore I named it *Nova Britannia*."

Dampier's homeward voyage was prosperous, until he reached the Island of Ascension, where the ship sprung a leak, and it was found impossible to preserve her. Great part of the provision was saved, and the sails were brought ashore to make tents. Fresh water and turtle were in abundance, so that there was no danger of immediate distress. Ten weeks after the occurrence of this accident, three English ships of war anchored at Ascension, with which Dampier and his men returned to England. The Roebuck was an old and worn-out vessel, quite unfit for the voyage; and it does not appear that Dampier can be justly blamed for the misfortune that took place. He accomplished the object of his mission, by making an important discovery, and by writing an account of it in an able manner.

CHAP. XX.

VOYAGES OF PRIVATEERS AND OTHERS TO THE SOUTH SEA.

PRIVATEERS UNDER DAMPIER. — DISCORDS IN THE EXPEDITION. — STRADLING AND DAMPIER SEPARATE. — ALEXANDER SELKIRK LEFT ON JUAN FERNANDEZ. — FATE OF STRADLING. — — CLIPPERTON LEAVES DAMPIER. — HE CROSSES THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN A SMALL BARK. — DAMPIER DESERTED BY FUNNEL AND OTHERS. — HIS ADVERSITY. — HE PREVAILS ON THE MERCHANTS TO EQUIP ANOTHER EXPEDITION. — VOYAGE OF WOODES ROGERS. — ARRIVAL AT JUAN FERNANDEZ. — ADVENTURES OF ALEXANDER SELKIRK ON THAT ISLAND. — SUCCESS OF ROGERS. — UNFORTUNATE VOYAGES OF SHELVOCKE AND CLIPPERTON. — FRENCH PRIVATEERS. — THEIR RAPID INCREASE, THE DUTCH. — ROGGEWEIN'S EXPEDITION. — BELGIA AUSTRAL. — EASTER ISLAND. — DANGEROUS SHOALS. — VERQUIKKUNG ISLAND. — DISPUTES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN. — ANSON'S EXPEDITION. — HIS SQUADRON MANNED BY INVALIDS. — UNHAPPY CONSEQUENCES OF THAT MEASURE. — VOYAGE ROUND CAPE HORN. — DISTRESS OF THE SHIPS. — THE ACAPULCO GALEON TAKEN. — ANSON RETURNS. — FATE OF THE OTHER SHIPS.

THE buccaneers were now suppressed indeed, but their daring and successful exploits in the South Seas were by no means forgotten. On the breaking out of the general war at the commencement of the last century, some merchants were induced to believe that with a well fitted armament a profitable expedition might be made into those seas, where the buccaneers, ill provided as they were, had met with such extraordinary success. They equipped in consequence two vessels, the St. George, of twenty-six, and the Cinque Ports, of sixteen guns, for this expedition. Dampier, whose character as a seaman was not lowered in the general estimation by the loss of his ship in his last voyage, was appointed to command the St. George; but this choice proved

singularly unfortunate. Dampier, although a good seaman, appears to have been a bad commander. He had lived too long with the buccaneers to be able to assume that dignity of carriage which is necessary to insure respect; while, by his too great familiarity, he imparted to his crew that tone of lawless equality which he had learned in his early years. He at the same time endeavoured to maintain discipline by an injudicious severity, and his temper was so bad that it was impossible to continue long on terms of intimacy with him. The ships, too, with which he sailed, were ill fitted for the expedition. The crew was mutinous and disorderly, and no harmony existed among the officers.

When the two ships arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez in the South Sea, a dispute arose between captain Stradling, the commander of the Cinque Ports, and his crew; and the latter absolutely refused to allow him to come on board. These differences were hardly reconciled by the mediation of Dampier, when a large ship was seen at a distance; on which our privateers stood out to sea in such haste that Stradling left behind him on the island five of his men, with a great proportion of his stores. The strange ship proved to be French, and of superior force, so that the chase was soon relinquished. Soon after, on the coast of Peru, our English privateers seized a prize, which gave birth to fresh altercations, and in consequence Dampier and Stradling parted company. The latter of these touched again at Juan Fernandez, where he found two of the men whom he had left there on his former visit to that island. But while the Cinque Ports lay here he had some disagreement with Alexander Selkirk, the master of the ship, who, in the heat of his dissatisfaction, and dreading the leaky state of the ship, chose to remain alone on the island, rather than to continue any longer under the command of Stradling. His desire was complied with; and he was set on shore, with his clothes, bedding, a firelock, one pound of gunpowder, a hatchet, cooking utensils, some tobacco, and his books. Before the ship

departed, however, Selkirk changed his mind, and wished to return on board, but the captain would not receive him. Stradling afterwards cruised on the coast of Peru till his vessel, already in a sinking state, ran ashore on the island Gorgona, where the captain and seven men, all that remained of the crew, were obliged to surrender to the Spaniards. The St. George was not more fortunate. Dampier quarrelled with his chief mate, Mr. Clipperton, who, having induced one and twenty of the men to join him, seized the small prize bark of about ten tons, which contained all their ammunition and the greatest part of their provisions. Clipperton cruised successfully on the coasts of New Spain, and afterwards crossed the Pacific in his little vessel to Macao,—one of the most extraordinary voyages ever performed. After the desertion of Clipperton, Dampier attacked the Manilla galleon, but without success; and its failure added to the discontents of his crew, who now felt alarmed at the bad condition of the crazy vessel. Dampier wished to continue in the South Sea, but the majority of the crew were otherwise inclined. A prize bark of about seventy tons burden was fitted up for those who wished to go to India. In this little vessel embarked thirty-seven men, and among them William Funnel, who afterwards wrote the history of the voyage. On their arrival at Amboyna, they were taken prisoners by the Dutch, who at first treated them with severity, but afterwards sent them home in their fleet to England. Dampier in the mean time remained in the St. George, with only nine and twenty men. He plundered the town of Puna, and cruised along the coast of Peru till his ship was no longer able to keep the sea. They then embarked in a brigantine which had been taken from the Spaniards; and stripping the St. George of every thing that might prove useful on their voyage, they left her riding at anchor near a small island on the coast. When Dampier arrived in the East Indies he was unable to produce his commission, which had probably been stolen from him by some of his discontented followers; his ship and

goods were therefore seized by the Dutch, and he was for some time detained in custody.

The miserable failure of this expedition was sufficient to discourage any speculations of a privateering nature; and it came to be admitted as a principle, that although cruising might be a gainful trade for buccaneers, yet that there could be no hopes of realising large profits by expeditions fitted out by merchants, and in the ultimate success of which every individual on board did not feel an immediate interest. But the indefatigable Dampier, unused to any industry but that of pillaging the Spaniards in the South Seas, addressed himself to the merchants of Bristol so earnestly and repeatedly, flattering their hopes with the rich plunder to be obtained in the Spanish settlements, that he at length prevailed upon them to fit out an expedition. They accordingly equipped two stout ships for the purpose, the one of thirty, and the other of twenty-six guns, and with crews amounting jointly to 321 men. Great care was taken in the choice of the officers. Captain Woodes Rogers was appointed to the command in chief; and Dampier, whose character as a skilful seaman was still high, and whose circumstances were reduced, engaged himself as his pilot. Their voyage to the Pacific was prosperous; and they steered directly to that grand resort of privateers, the island of Juan Fernandez. But on approaching the island, they had cause to suspect that the Spaniards had established a garrison upon it, as a fire was distinctly seen during the night; and accordingly a small boat was sent to reconnoitre. As the boat drew near, a man was seen on the shore waving a white flag; and on her nearer approach he called to the people in the boat in the English language, and directed them to a landing place. As the boat did not return so soon as was expected, the pinnace was sent in search of her. The circumstance which caused the delay is thus narrated by captain Woodes Rogers: — "The pinnace came back immediately from the shore, and brought abundance of crayfish; and with a man clothed in goat-skins, who looked more

will than the first owners of them. He had been on the island four years and four months. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been master of the Cinque Ports galley, a ship which came here with captain Dampier, who told me he was the best man in her; so I immediately agreed with him to be a mate on board our ship. It was he who made the fire last night, judging our ships to be English."

During the first eight months of his residence on the island, Selkirk found it difficult to bear up against melancholy and the tediousness of his solitary life. He built himself two huts with pimento-trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun so long as his pound of powder lasted. Just as that was expended he found the method of kindling fire by rubbing together two pieces of pimento wood. He employed himself by praying and singing psalms. At first his appetite quite failed him; he could not relish his food, from dejection and want of salt; nor used he to go to bed till he was no longer able to watch. Pimento wood served him for both fire and candle, burning very clearly, and with a fragrant refreshing smell. When his powder was all expended, he was obliged to catch the goats by running them down; and he grew so active as to be able to outstrip a good dog. On one occasion his agility had nearly cost him his life. He pursued a goat at full speed to the edge of a precipice which the bushes had concealed from his view: he fell, in consequence, a great height, and was so bruised and stunned by the fall that he narrowly escaped with his life. When he came to his senses, he found the goat lying dead under him. He lay in this situation about four and twenty hours, and then crawled with difficulty to his hut, which was a mile distant; nor did he recover from the effects of this accident for several days. Goats and cats, which had been brought to the island,—the former by the Spaniards, the latter by the buccaneers and cruisers,—had multiplied exceedingly: of the former, he had killed above 500 while dwelling here; and had caught as many

more, which he dismissed, after marking them in the ear. He had tamed a number of kids; and, in order to amuse himself, he used sometimes to sing and dance with them and with his cats.

His clothes and shoes were soon worn out by running through the woods; but his feet grew so hard by exercise, that he could run over the roughest ground without inconvenience, and found it difficult afterwards to reconcile himself to the use of shoes. When his clothes were worn to rags, he made himself a coat and cap of goat-skin, which he sewed together with thongs of the same material. His only needle was a nail; and when his knife was completely worn out, he made a new one of some iron hoops that were left on shore. As he had some linen cloth among his stores, he made himself some shirts of it, sewing them together with the yarn of his worsted stockings.

In the proper season he had plenty of good turnips, which had been sown there by Dampier's men, and increased so as to overspread some acres of ground. The cabbage-trees also furnished him with good nourishment. He made excellent goat-soup, and seasoned it with the fruit of the pimento, which is the same as Jamaica pepper. His last shirt was nearly worn out when captain Rogers arrived here; and he had forgotten his language, or lost the power of articulation so much by disuse as to be hardly intelligible.

Alexander Selkirk always remembered with pleasure his abode on Juan Fernandez. He was only thirty years of age when first left there; and when the pains of loneliness had worn off, and his health was improved by exercise, temperance, and a fine climate, he became sensibly attached to his wild but tranquil life. His countenance retained ever after the traits that mark the hunter in his solitary occupation. In the streets of London he went along with an air of complete abstraction, and often ran at full speed, totally regardless and unaware of the crowds that stood wondering at him.* The ad-

* King's Anecdotes.

ventures of Alexander Selkirk formed the groundwork of Defoe's novel of "Robinson Crusoe."

The voyage of Woodes Rogers was crowned with complete success. He captured the Acapulco galleon, and returned safely to England by the East Indies, having sailed round the globe in three years and three months. This expedition was not productive of any immediate advantage to geography, but it tended much to strip distant and tedious navigations of those terrors which had become attached to them through mismanagement or the incapability of their commanders. The merchants were so much encouraged by its result, that in 1718 they again fitted out two ships for the South Sea. Captains Shelvocke and Clipperton, were appointed to command them; but they soon separated; and the success of the undertaking vanished, as might be expected, with the unity of those engaged to conduct it.

Clipperton was deposed from his command by his crew in the East Indies; and died, soon after his return to England, of a broken heart. Shelvocke took many prizes, and brought back his ship; but his conduct towards his owners and his ship's company was the subject of severe animadversion; and this expedition was, on the whole, ill-conducted and unfortunate. Yet these commanders all published accounts of their voyages, in which, if they could not boast of any new discoveries, they at least added many amusing particulars respecting countries still but imperfectly known. It is surprising to consider what spirit and vigour were infused into maritime enterprise by the example of the buccaneers. Within the comparatively short space of thirty-six years (from 1686 to 1722), no less than six expeditions had circumnavigated the globe under the command of Englishmen; and the voyage across the great Pacific Ocean, which, an age before, was looked upon as a stupendous enterprise, was voluntarily undertaken and successfully accomplished by Clipperton, in a slender bark of only ten tons burden.

The French had acquired in the same school a taste for roving over the ocean. The first French ship that

navigated the South Sea, of which any account exists, was that commanded by J. Baptiste de la Follade, in 1667. But in 1712, eight or nine privateers of that nation cruised on the coasts of Chili and Peru. When war appeared ready to break out, in 1719, between Great Britain and Spain, the Spaniards in the South Sea gave great encouragement to the French. In 1720, a ship of St. Malo, named the Solomon, was allowed to sell her cargo at Ylo without interruption. The success of the Solomon had such an effect on the St. Malo merchants, that they immediately fitted out fourteen sail, which all arrived in the South Sea in the beginning of the year 1721; most of them large ships; and one, named the Fleur de Lys, capable of mounting seventy guns. In the same year a French ship sailed from China to New Spain; and by running well to the northward, arrived in the Bay of Vanderas in less than fifty days,—a much shorter time than had been hitherto required to cross the Pacific Ocean from the west.

The Dutch also joined in attacking the Spanish possessions; and in the West Indies their exertions were attended with brilliant success. The Spanish flotilla was captured at the Havannah, and prizes taken to an immense amount. But privateers are bad accountants. The individuals, or companies of merchants who fitted out these armaments derived no profit from them; and the Dutch West India company, notwithstanding all their triumphs over the Spaniards, found their own affairs in a ruinous condition. They offered to sell their privileges to the East India company for a sum of money, or of stock, so as virtually to unite the two companies; but this proposal was rejected, and the West India merchants were forced upon some other expedient to retrieve their affairs. In 1721, a memorial was presented to them by Jacob Roggewein, who had amassed a great deal of money in the East in the service of the East India company, containing proposals for the discovery of southern lands. The father of Jacob, fifty-two years before, had presented a similar project to the

same company; and when dying, exhorted his son not to lose sight of so important a design. The application of Jacob Roggewein was successful. The company ordered three vessels to be equipped, to go in search of unknown countries, and gave the chief command of them to the author of the scheme. Discovery was the professed object of this expedition; but it is probable that the West India company had trade also in view, and that they were willing, under the protection of their own charter, to encroach on the privileges of the rival company.

The three ships sailed from the Texel on the 21st of August, 1721. They were ill provided with journalists, and few voyages of discovery have been more imperfectly and obscurely related. As they approached the Straits of Magellan, "they looked for the island of Hawkins's Maiden Land, but could not find it." They saw, however, a great island of about 200 leagues in circumference, to which they gave the name of *Belgia Austral*. Commodore Roggewein, in his zeal to make new discoveries, was often unable to find, or unwilling to recognise, lands which had been seen before. The land which he called Belgia Austral had been previously found by the French to be a group of islands, to which they gave the name of *Malouines*. Captain Strong, the commander of an English privateer, had discovered among these islands, in 1690, a large opening, to which he gave the name of *Falkland Sound*; and hence the islands, in English maps, are at present called the Falkland Islands. They were at first called from their discoverer, *John Davis's South Land*. Sir Richard Hawkins soon after, in 1593, named them *Hawkins's Maiden Land*. They afterwards received successively the names of the *Sebaldines*, or *Sebald de Weert's Islands*; the *Malouines*, or *Isles de St. Louis*; the *Falkland Isles*; and *Belgia Austral*. From this single instance of confused nomenclature, it may be conjectured how difficult it is to recognise the course of early navigators through the Pacific Ocean.

After leaving Juan Fernandez, the Dutch, steering W.N.W., endeavoured to find Edward Davis's Island. They thought that they missed it, but nevertheless they arrived at the island; and being willing to regard it as a new discovery, they named it *Paaschen*, or *Easter Island*. A native came on board, to whom they gave a glass of wine; but, instead of drinking it, he threw it into his eyes. Here they procured fresh provisions, and continued their voyage to the west. After a month's run, one of the vessels was wrecked on the shoals among a cluster of low islands, which were called from this accident the *Verschaadelyk*, or *Pernicious Isles*. They are probably the Palliser's Isles of English maps. About twenty-five German leagues to the west of these were found the *Irrigen*, or *Labyrinth Isles*, extremely numerous, and all of beautiful appearance. Shortly after, the Dutch ships arrived at *Verquikkung*, or *Recreation Island*, probably one of the Society Islands, where they were hospitably treated by the natives. When Roggewein reached Batavia, he experienced the most stern treatment from the Dutch East India company. His ships and cargoes were condemned as forfeited to the company, and sold by public auction. Geography gained little by his voyage, which, considering the liberality with which the expedition was equipped, cannot be considered as successful.

The suppression of the buccaneers did not by any means lead to the extinction of the contraband trade that existed in the West Indies; and the Spaniards, who were the chief sufferers by it, resorted to measures which could not be tolerated by foreign courts. They assumed the power of searching all British merchant vessels which should be found near their settlements; and directions were given to the guarda costas to detain and incommode, as much as possible, all ships that fell under their examination, so as to deter foreigners, and the English especially, from engaging in that trade. These haughty and injurious proceedings gave rise to many complaints; and, after much mutual remonstrance, the British go-

vernment peremptorily demanded that Spain should relinquish all claim to a right of visiting British ships, except in her own ports. These requisitions were not attended to; and, in 1739, these disputes ran so high, that letters of reprisal were issued by both parties, and declarations of war very soon followed.

It was immediately determined by the British administration to attack the Spanish trade and settlements in the South Sea. A squadron of ships destined for this service was placed under the command of captain George Anson, in November, 1739; but delays were imprudently allowed to take place in fitting out the armament, and the ships remained nine months in port for want of men. But at length orders were issued for collecting 500 invalids from among the out-pensioners of Chelsea college, to complete the manning of the squadron. The most unhappy consequences attended upon this singularly harsh and unjust proceeding. A great number of the invalids deserted: of those who remained, the majority were above sixty, and many above seventy years of age. A more moving spectacle could not be imagined than the embarkation of these unhappy old men. And to complete the picture of this cruel measure, it is only requisite to add, that of all those veteran warriors who entered the South Sea, not one lived to revisit his native land.

The squadron was at length ready for sea, and sailed from St. Helen's road in the beginning of September, 1740. They consisted of six ships of war, mounting in all 236 guns, and two store ships. The Centurion, in which the commodore embarked, was a fine ship of sixty guns; the Gloucester and Severn had fifty each.

But this remarkable voyage, of which an excellent account was written by the chaplain to the Centurion, did not extend the limits of geographical knowledge; and is mentioned here only as forming a part of that series of expeditions to the South Sea, which, though they had not maritime discovery for their object, yet tended collaterally to promote it, by the range and freedom

which they gave to voyages through the ocean. The terrors of the passage round Cape Horn are vividly portrayed by the historian of the expedition. Barren and desolate as the Tierra del Fuego appears, yet Staten Land, on the other side of Le Maire's Strait, far surpasses it in the wildness and horror of its appearance. It seems entirely to be composed of inaccessible rocks, terminating in a vast number of sharp points, which tower to a prodigious height, and are most of them covered with everlasting snow. The hills are divided by deep chasms, nearly perpendicular, as if the country had been torn asunder by earthquakes: and every outline contributes to the savage and gloomy character of the coast.

They had scarcely cleared the Straits of Le Maire, when a storm ushered in such a succession of tempestuous weather as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and raised such a prodigious sea as filled them with continual terror. "The Centurion was nothing on the raging waves, and was tossed and bandied about as if she had been a small wherry." Many of the men were hurt, and all sickened by the tossing of the ships; the crews were also dreadfully afflicted with the scurvy: so that the history of this squadron, while labouring to get round Cape Horn, presents a long and melancholy scene of extreme affliction and distress. The old men died rapidly; wounds which they had received in their early days, and which had been healed, many of them forty, and in one instance fifty years, now broke out afresh in consequence of the scurvy, and appeared as if they had never been healed. Two of the armed vessels were unable to effect their passage into the South Sea; the other ships were separated by the storm, and did not again join company till they arrived at Juan Fernandez. The Gloucester did not reach the anchorage of that island till the 23d of July; having been continually under sail in a stormy ocean 146 days, or five months, from the time of her quitting Port St. Julian,—a circumstance unparalleled in the history of navigation. All the veterans on board the Gloucester had died during

this distressing voyage; and while landing the sick men from the Centurion at Juan Fernandez, no less than twelve died in the boats.

Notwithstanding the reduction effected in the strength of the squadron by sickness and bad weather, it cruised against the Spaniards with perfect success. The town of Payta was plundered; a number of valuable prizes taken; and, at last, Anson, lying near Manilla, engaged and captured the galleon of Acapulco, having on board an immense treasure in merchandise and specie. The Centurion lay some time at Tinian, one of the Ladrones, which is celebrated in the narrative of the voyage as a terrestrial paradise.

At length, after an absence of three years and nine months, the Centurion returned alone to England, having circumnavigated the earth. Two of the armed ships, as has been already observed, never entered the South Sea. Two others, and a victualler, which effected the passage, were afterwards broken up as being no longer serviceable. The other victualler had been dismissed in the Atlantic; and the Wager frigate, being parted from the commodore by a gale of wind on first entering the South Sea, was wrecked on the coast of Chili: and it is not compatible with the plan, nor does it lie within the limits, of this work, to recount the singular adventures of the crew, many of whom perished; while the remainder, after a long series of sufferings, crimes, and unparalleled exertions, returned to their native country.

CHAP. XXI.

DISCOVERIES OF THE RUSSIANS.

FIRST INTERCOURSE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SIBERIA. — THE PROMYSHLENI. — TRADE CARRIED ON BY STROGONOFF. — ADVENTURES OF YERMAC. — HE DEFEATS KUTCHAM KHAN. — BECOMES MASTER OF SIBERIA. — OFFERS HIS DOMINIONS TO THE CZAR. — HIS PROPOSALS WELL RECEIVED. — YERMAC DEFEATED AND SLAIN. — SIBERIA LOST. — RECOVERED BY THE RUSSIANS. — THEY APPROACH THE AMUR. — EXPEDITION OF POJARKOF. — FIRST COLLISION WITH THE CHINESE. — HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE TWO EMPIRES. — TREATY OF NERCHINTSK. — RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO PEKIN. — MISCONDUCT OF THE RUSSIANS. — THEY ARE EXPELLED FROM CHINA. — TREATY OF KIACHTA. — INTELLIGENCE OBTAINED BY MICHAEL STADUCHIN. — THE TSHUKTZKI DISCOVERED. — REMARKABLE VOYAGE OF SIMOEN DESHNIEW. — HE PASSES FROM THE ICY SEA TO BEHRING'S STRAITS. — SUFFERS SHIPWRECK. — ESTABLISHES A TRADE ON THE COAST. — FATE OF HIS COMPANIONS. — CONQUEST OF KAMTSCHATKA. — TARAS STADUCHIN. — EXPEDITION OF POPOW AGAINST THE TSHUKTZKI. — HE RECEIVES INTELLIGENCE RESPECTING AMERICA.

RUSSIA in the beginning of the sixteenth century was little better than an inland kingdom; the small extent of sea-coast which it had upon the north offering at that time no means of intercourse with foreign nations. The arrival of Richard Chancelor at Archangel was looked upon in Russia as a wonderful event; and the commercial privileges accorded by the czar to the English seaman were intended as a reward for his having discovered a communication between the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. The solution of the question respecting a north-east passage would have been of the greatest importance to Russia, if that empire had been in a condition to carry on foreign commerce; but the Russian empire, at present so powerful, was too feeble two centuries ago to support or feel an interest in ma-

ritime expeditions. Even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, nothing was known of the northern coast of Siberia beyond the river Yenisei. The country was unquestionably often traversed by private hunters and adventurers; but their local information was never drawn together or concentrated in such a way as to serve materially the interests of geography.

In a country where population is thin and society ill organised, conquest is sure to follow discovery. The Russians seem to have had the same advantage over the wild tribes or nations dwelling to the east of them, which the Spaniards possessed over the natives of America. In 1558, the czar of Muscovy assumed the title of lord of Siberia; but this name did not then embrace so wide an extent of dominion as at present. The first Russian conquerors were private hunters and merchants, who usually reduced to subjection the feeble tribes with whom they traded for furs. As justice can hardly exist where there is no equality, the Russian adventurers never dreamed of right in their dealings with the Siberian savages; their principles of action were uniformly as selfish as they were cruel. The *Promyshleni*, as these adventurers were called, are styled in a national proverb the harbingers of the Cossacks.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, a merchant of Archangel, named Anika Strogonoff, carried on a trade of barter with the inhabitants of the remote parts of Siberia, who brought every year to the above-mentioned town large quantities of the choicest furs; on their return they were accompanied by Russian agents, who traded with the natives. This traffic was carried on for several years, during which Strogonoff amassed a considerable fortune. The czar, perceiving the advantage that might accrue to the empire from extending this commerce, determined on enlarging the communication already opened with Siberia. He accordingly sent troops into that country, by the routes which had hitherto been followed by the Russian merchants. These troops do not seem to have penetrated farther than the western branch of the

river Oby; and the chief result of the expedition was the extorting from some Tatar tribes an annual tribute of sables. Strogonoff in the mean time obtained from the czar large grants of land, on which he founded colonies; and one of these, not long afterwards, afforded refuge to the celebrated adventurer to whom Russia owes the subjection of Siberia.

The czar Ivan Basilievitz extended his dominions to the Caspian Sea, and established a commercial intercourse with Persia and Bucharia. His merchants, however, were frequently pillaged by the predatory tribes inhabiting the banks of the Don and the Volga. Troops were accordingly sent against these robbers, who were attacked and routed; part of them were slain, the rest escaped by flight. Among the latter were a corps of 6000 Cossacks under the command of Yermac Timovief. This daring adventurer, driven from his usual haunts, retired with his followers to Oral, one of the Russian settlements recently planted by Strogonoff; and being hospitably entertained by the merchants, he behaved himself with a moderation which could hardly have been expected from his previous habits.

The restlessness of his genius, however, and the necessity of employing his retainers, made him cast his eyes about for a proper object of attack; and he at length resolved to fall upon Kutcham Khan, a powerful Tatar prince, whose principal residence was at Sibir, a small fortress on the river Irtish, not far from the present town of Tobolsk. His first attempt was unsuccessful; but in 1579 he set out upon a second expedition: his followers amounted to 5000 men, adventurers inured to hardships and regardless of danger. They had been supplied by the Russians with ammunition and firearms; but before Yermac reached his enemies, a tedious march of eighteen months had reduced his army to 1500 active men. With this handful he did not hesitate to attack Kutcham Khan, whom he routed in successive engagements; and the Tatars were so struck with the gallant intrepidity and brilliant exploits of the Cossack,

that they submitted to his authority without hesitation, and acquiesced in the payment of the usual tribute. Thus he was suddenly exalted from the station of a chief of banditti to the rank of a sovereign prince.

But Yermac soon became convinced of the precariousness of his situation; his followers were few, the Tatars were turbulent and rebellious, and it was absolutely necessary for him to relinquish his dominion or to call in foreign assistance. He chose the latter alternative, and offered his new acquisitions to the czar of Muscovy, upon condition of receiving immediate and effectual support. The application was accompanied with a present of the choicest and most valuable furs. His ambassador was received at Moscow with the strongest marks of satisfaction. The czar extolled the services of Yermac, pardoned all his former offences, and as a testimony of his former favour sent to him a fur robe that he had worn himself, which was the greatest mark of distinction that could be bestowed upon a subject. To these were added a sum of money, and a promise of a speedy and effectual assistance. When the promised reinforcements arrived, Yermac followed up his plans of aggrandisement with increased activity, and gained many bloody victories over the neighbouring princes. But at length Kutcham Khan contrived to fall upon him in the dead of night, when his Russian auxiliaries, fatigued with a long march, negligently reposed without suspicion of danger. The Russians were cut to pieces almost without opposition; and Yermac, in his flight, perished in the river Irtish. On his death the Russians evacuated Siberia, but nevertheless he must be looked upon as the founder of their empire in that vast country. He discovered new and practicable routes through those uncultivated regions; he proved that the Tatars were an easy prey, and that a band of well-armed troops could easily master their scattered and unorganised population. Three hundred Russians were soon after sent into Siberia, who erected the fortresses of Tobolsk, Sungur, and Tara, and easily reco-

vered the whole territory which had acknowledged the authority of Yermac. This success was only the forerunner of still greater acquisitions: the Russians pushed their conquests far and wide. Wherever they appeared, the Tatars were either reduced or exterminated, new towns were built, and colonies were planted on all sides. Before a century had well elapsed, that vast tract of country, now called Siberia, which stretches from the confines of Europe to the Eastern Ocean, and from the Frozen Sea to the frontiers of China, was annexed to the Russian dominions. A greater extent of territory would, perhaps, have been added towards the south, if the power of China had not interposed.

The great river Amur, which rises in the heart of Tatary, and, flowing eastward above thirty degrees in longitude, discharges itself in the sea in about 53° north latitude, was first heard of by the Russians about the year 1639. In that year a Russian or Cossack, named Kupilof, is said to have obtained a sight of the eastern sea-coast. Four years later, the Russians attempted to render tributary the Tatar nations inhabiting its banks. Wasilei Pojarkof, who commanded this expedition, departed from Jakutzk, a town lately built on the banks of the Lena, in July, 1643, with a force not exceeding 132 men. The Tatars, not suspecting hostile intentions, received the strangers with their accustomed hospitality; but on hearing their insolent demands, they ceased to supply them with provisions, and many of the Russians perished in consequence. Pojarkof nevertheless persevered in his undertaking, and followed the course of the Amur to the place where it enters the eastern sea; thence he went northward along the sea-coast; and in the year 1646 returned to Jakutzk, by a route very different from that which he had pursued in going. In the report which he made of his expedition, he stated that the whole country near the Amur could certainly be reduced under the dominion of Russia, provided the government would employ 300 men for that purpose, and build three ostrogs, or forts. Hence it

may be concluded that the midland regions of Asia were at that time as thinly peopled as its northern parts. In conformity with the advice of Pojarkof, the Russian government despatched, in 1651, a force of about 300 men, who, having taken the town of Albasin situated on the Amur, embarked in boats to descend the river. They had not proceeded far before they met with a fortified place belonging to the Dauri, a Tatar tribe. The Russians captured the place with little loss; and here it was that in their encroachments on Tatary they first came in contact with the Chinese. Some merchants of that nation were in the fort; and the day after it was taken, a Chinese officer, habited in a silken robe, came to pay his respects to the Russian commander; he made a long harangue, the purport of which seemed to be, that the Chinese desired to live in peace and amity with the Russians. The Chinese, however, also had their designs on the tribes inhabiting the Amur, and hostilities soon broke out between the rival empires. In the first conflicts the Chinese were worsted; but as they became better acquainted with the use of fire-arms they obtained a manifest superiority over the Russians, who opposed them with feeble forces. The great value of the trade with China, where the Siberian furs are held in extraordinary estimation, together with the difficulty of carrying on a war in so remote a quarter of their empire, disposed the Russians to accommodate differences with the Chinese. Negotiations were accordingly entered into, to fix the common boundary of the two empires, and to establish their commercial intercourse on a firm basis. The conferences were held under tents in an open plain near the town of Nerchintsk, where the treaty was signed and sealed by the plenipotentiaries of the two courts. By the first and second articles of this treaty, which first checked the progress of the Russian arms in those parts, the south-eastern boundaries of the Russian empire were formed by a ridge of mountains stretching north of the Amur, from the Sea of Ochotsk, to the source of a small river called

Gorbitza; then by that river to its influx into the Amur; and lastly, by the Argun, from its junction with the Shilka up to its source. The Russians proposed the river Amur for a common boundary; and, had this point been conceded, the deep windings of that river would have brought them close upon the northern provinces of China. By the fifth article, reciprocity of trade was granted to the subjects of the two empires, who were provided with passports from their respective courts.

By this treaty, which was signed on the 27th of August, 1689, the Russians lost the navigation of the river Amur; the entrance to which, with a large territory on its northern banks, was ceded to the Chinese. The importance of this loss was not at that time understood, and has only been felt since the discovery of Kamtschatka and the islands between Asia and America, the produce of which might have easily been transported by means of that river to the interior and western parts of Siberia. Matters being thus accommodated with the Chinese, the trade carried on by the Russians with that people rapidly increased. Peter the Great, with a view of enlarging this advantageous commerce, sent, in 1692, Isbrand Ides, a Dutchman in his service, to Pekin, who requested and obtained that the liberty of trading to China, which by the late treaty had been granted to individuals, should be extended to caravans. In consequence of this arrangement, a caravanseray was allotted in Pekin for the reception of the Russians, and all their expenses during their continuance in that capital were defrayed by the emperor of China. Private merchants were allowed at the same time not only at Pekin, but also at the head quarters of the Mongols. A kind of annual fair was held in their camp by the Russian and Chinese merchants. This rendezvous soon became a scene of riot and confusion, and repeated complaints were transmitted to the Chinese emperor of the drunkenness and misconduct of the Russians. The disorderly conduct for which the Russians in Pekin had become notorious added weight to these complaints. Other

circumstances contributed to increase the displeasure of the Chinese; and at length an order was issued, in 1722, for the total expulsion of the Russians from the Chinese and Mongol territories: these orders were rigorously executed, and all intercourse between the two nations immediately ceased. Affairs continued in this state till 1727, when Ragusinski was despatched as envoy to Pekin to adjust the existing differences between the two courts. He succeeded in his mission; and by the treaty of Kiachta, which he concluded, the boundary of the two nations was confirmed and continued. With respect to commerce, the most important regulations were as follows: — A caravan was allowed to go to Pekin every three years, on condition of its not consisting of more than 200 persons; during their residence in that capital their expenses were no longer to be defrayed by the emperor of China; notice was to be sent to the Chinese immediately on their arrival at the frontiers, where an officer was to meet and accompany them to Pekin. The Russians at the same time obtained permission to build a church in that city, and to send a few scholars to reside there for the purpose of learning the Chinese tongue,— a valuable privilege, from which European learning has derived less advantage than might have been expected. This treaty, called the Treaty of Kiachta, was, on the 14th of June, 1728, concluded and ratified by count Ragusinski and three Chinese plenipotentiaries, upon the spot where Kiachta was afterwards built.

The progress of the Russians in the north of Siberia was more gradual, and not marked by any events which serve as epochs in the history of conquest. Their first establishment on the Lena was formed in 1636. The rivers *Jena*, *Indigirka*, *Alaseia*, and *Kolyma*, were successively discovered. In 1644, a Cossack, named Michael Staduchin, built a fort on the last-named river. On his return to Jakutzk he brought back the report, that in the icy sea there was a large island, extending along the horizon from the river Jena to the Kolyma, part of

which land might be seen in clear weather from the continent; and that the people who inhabited that part of the coast passed over the ice in the winter time to this land in one day with rein-deer. He also said that he had heard of a great river named *Pogitsha*, three or four days' sail to the east of the Kolyma. The first voyage eastward from this river was made in 1646 by a company of adventurers; they found a clear channel between the land and the ice, which was firmly grounded on the shelving coast. After two days' sail they anchored in a bay, where they met a people called *Tshuktzki*, with whom they entered into traffic. Neither party could understand the other, except by signs, and they were mutually suspicious. The mode in which they carried on their traffic resembles that which has been related from the time of Herodotus to the present day respecting some nations of the interior of Africa. The Russians placed their merchandise on the strand, and then retreated: the Tshuktzki then took what pleased them, and in return left sea-horse teeth, both whole and in carved pieces. From this place the Russians returned home.

The sea-horse teeth obtained in this adventure were a sufficient inducement to prosecute discoveries to the north-east. In the year 1648 seven vessels departed from the Kolyma, under the command of the Cossack Semoen Deshniew. One of the chief objects of this expedition was to discover the river *Anadir*, which the Russians were informed flowed through a well-peopled country. Of the seven vessels fitted out for this expedition, four were soon after wrecked. The voyages of the other three are among the most remarkable which occur in the history of geography. It appears that they actually passed from the Kolyma through Behring's Straits to the mouth of the Anadir; but the journal of the voyage is imperfect, and it is not manifest whether they circumnavigated the north-eastern portion of Siberia, or drew their vessels overland across that great promontory, the delineation of which is left imperfect in

all modern charts. Thus the most interesting part of the voyage is still involved in mystery. Deshniew's narrative begins at the Great Cape of the Tshuktzki, which is evidently Cape East in Behring's Strait. "It is situated," he says, "between the north and north-east, and turns circularly towards the river Anadir. Over against the cape are two islands, upon which were seen some men of the Tshuktzki nation, who had holes pierced in their lips, through which were stuck pieces of the teeth of the sea-horse." It is now known that the men distinguished by these ornaments were Americans.

Deshniew's vessel arrived alone in the Bay of Anadir, where it was cast on shore and wrecked a little to the south of the river. His company consisted of only twenty-five men. They wandered ten weeks through a country destitute of wood and inhabitants before they arrived at the banks of a river. On ascending it they met with a tribe called Anauli, whom, with little or no provocation, they exterminated; an act of barbarism which added to their distress.

Staduchin in the mean time ascertained that the Pogitsha River was also called the Anadir, and that the shortest and most certain route to it from the Kolyma was by land. Accordingly, in the spring of 1650, he set forward on this journey; and in April arrived on the banks of the Anadir, where, to the surprise and pleasure of both parties, he found Deshniew and his company. The discovery of this route by land put an end to the attempts to sail round the country of the Tshuktzki.

Deshniew was active in bringing to light all the advantages of his discoveries. He descended the Anadir in boats, and discovered a *korga*, or great sand bank, extending in the sea opposite to its mouth. It was the resting-place of multitudes of sea-horses, and thus furnished him with the means of carrying on a very profitable commerce. He built a ship to carry to Jakutsk the tribute and the ivory which he had collected; and this circumstance tends strongly to confirm the fact that he had actually navigated the whole way from the

Kolyma to the Anadir. In his expeditions to the korga, he became acquainted with the tribes of the Korjaki, who dwell on the south side of the river; and he found among them a woman of Jakutzk, who had belonged to his former associate, Jedot Alexiew. From her he learned that his companions had died of the scurvy, or in disputes among themselves and with the natives. The Russians were at first held in great veneration, and were almost deified by the inhabitants; who thought that no human power could hurt them, until they quarrelled among themselves, and blood was seen to flow from the wounds which they gave each other.

It is probable that the Russians received accounts of Kamtschatka as soon as they had established themselves on the Anadir. But it was not till the year 1696 that a troop of sixteen Cossacks penetrated so far as the river since called the *River of Kamtschatka*. They plundered the villages under the pretence of exacting tribute; and, among the articles they carried off from the Kamtschadales, were some writings in an unknown language, afterwards ascertained to be Japanese. In the following year a Cossack officer named Wolodimer Atlassow undertook to conquer Kamtschatka. From Jakutzk he travelled overland to the Anadir. He seems to have proceeded by a circuitous route, and remarks, that between the Kolyma and the Anadir there are two great capes or promontories; the first, or most western of which, can never be doubled by any vessel, from the quantity of ice that lines its shore at every season of the year. The Kamtschadales were unable to offer any resistance to the Russians. They are described to be of smaller stature than the nations who dwell to the north of them, having great beards and small faces: they lived underground in winter; and during the summer months in cabins elevated above the ground on posts, to which they ascended by ladders. To preserve their animal food they buried it in the earth, wrapped in leaves, until it was quite putrid: they cooked it in water in earthen or wooden vessels, which they heated by

throwing in red-hot stones: "and their cookery," says Atlassow, "smelt so strong, that a Russian could not support the odour of it."

From the Kamtschadales the Russians received intelligence respecting the *Kurili Islands*, to the south of Kamtschatka. They learned that beyond the islands seen from the continent there were others, the inhabitants of which were reported to live in walled towns; and that vessels had come from them with people clothed in silks and cottons, and having porcelain ware. There was also found living among the Kamtschadales a native of a southern country, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Kamtschatka two years before. This man had small mustachios, black hair, and his countenance was thought to resemble that of a Greek. He broke out into tears and lamentations on seeing images with the Russians, as they brought to his mind recollections of his native country. From all these circumstances it was concluded he was an Indian, or a Japanese. The first influence of the Russians on the Kamtschadales, like that of the Europeans on the Americans, was of an unhappy kind. The feeble remnant of those simple tribes who survived the conquest of the country appear to have degenerated rapidly.

Some years after the expedition of Deshniew, a merchant named Taras Staduchin followed in his track round the northern coast. He sailed from the river Kolyma in a small vessel to make discovery round the Great Cape of the Tshuktzki; being unable to double it, he crossed over on foot to the opposite side, where he built other vessels; the isthmus which he crossed is represented as being extremely narrow. Of the navigators who pretend to have examined the north-eastern portion of Siberia, Staduchin gives the most clear and complete account of the course he pursued; but it is evident that he left unsurveyed a neck of land running northward, of which he did not know the termination.

The Russians at length turned their arms towards the country of the Tshuktzki, which it had been found im-

possible to circumnavigate, and dangerous to cross from the ferocity of its inhabitants. Their assistance was implored by the tributary tribes against that warlike nation: they bravely faced the Russians, whom nevertheless they were unable to resist; and when taken prisoners, killed one another, preferring death to ignominious captivity.

The first conflicts with these bold savages took place in 1701; but ten years afterwards a Cossack named Peter Sin Popow, with two attendants, was dispatched to visit their country, to exhort them to submission, and to prevail on them, if possible, to deliver hostages. He was unable to succeed in the chief object of his mission; but on his return he gave the following account of the country and its inhabitants:—

"The Tshuktzki Nos was destitute of trees. On the shores near the Nos were found sea horse teeth in great numbers: the Tshuktzki, in their solemn engagements, invoked the sun to guarantee their performance. Some among them have flocks of tame rein-deer, which obliges them often to change their place of residence; but those who have no rein-deer inhabit the coasts on both sides of the Nos, near banks where the sea-horses are used to come, on which and on fish they mostly subsist. They have habitations hollowed in the earth. Opposite to the Nos an island, it is said, may be seen at a great distance, which is called, by the Tshuktzki, the *Great Country*. (This is unquestionably a reference to America.) The inhabitants of that land pierce holes through their cheeks, in which they insert large ornaments made of pieces cut from the teeth of the sea-horse. These people have a different language from the Tshuktzki, with whom they have been at war from time immemorial. They use bows and arrows, as do the Tshuktzki. Popow saw ten men of this country with their cheeks pierced who were prisoners to the Tshuktzki. In summer they can go to this land in one day in their boats or baidars, which are framed of whalebone and covered with seal-skins. In winter they can cross over in one day in their sledges with good rein-deer. On the Nos were seen no other wild animals than

red foxes and wolves; and, from the scarcity of wood, these were not numerous. But in the other land (the Great Country) were said to be many animals, as sables, martens, and foxes of various kinds, bears, sea-otters, and others. The inhabitants there also have large herds of tame deer." According to the computation of Popow, the number of the Tshuktzki inhabiting the Nos, reckoning those who have rein-deer and those who live on the coast, was at least 2000 men. The people of the Great Country were thought to be three times as numerous. "To go from the fort of the Anadir to the Nos with laden rein-deer, and consequently travelling slow, was reckoned by the Tshuktzki a journey of ten weeks; but this supposes that they are not detained in the way by storms, which are frequently accompanied with whirlwinds of snow."—A few years after Popow's journey (in 1718), some Tshuktzki of the Nos went to the fort of Anadir to make their submission, and added a few particulars to the information which he had collected. Opposite to the Nos (they said) is an island of a moderate size, and without trees: in their baidars they go in half a day to this island; and beyond it is a great continent, which may be seen from the island in clear weather. In that country are large forests abounding in game.

CHAP. XXII.

DISCOVERIES OF THE RUSSIANS.

DESIRE OF RUSSIA TO COMMUNICATE WITH AMERICA. — EXPEDITION DESIGNED BY THE CZAR PETER. — HIS INSTRUCTIONS. — FIRST VOYAGE OF BEHRING. — ITS RESULT. — AMERICA MARKED IN RUSSIAN MAPS. — EXPEDITION OF SCHESTAKOFF. — HIS FATE. — EXTRAORDINARY MARCH OF PAULUTSKI. — VOYAGE OF KRUPISHEF. — HE DISCOVERS AMERICA. — EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERY. — ATTEMPTS TO NAVIGATE THE ICY SEA. — JAPANESE VESSEL WRECKED ON KAMTSCHATKA. — SPANGBERG VISITS YEDZO. — BEHAVIOUR OF THE JAPANESE TO WALTON. — SECOND VOYAGE OF BEHRING AND TSCHIRIKOF. — THEY ARE SEPARATED. — BEHRING REACHES AMERICA. — INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES. — DISTRESS OF THE RUSSIANS. — THE SHIP CAST AWAY. — THEY WINTER ON A DESERT ISLAND. — DEATH OF BEHRING. — THE REMAINS OF HIS COMPANY ESCAPE. — VOYAGE OF TSCHIRIKOF. — DISCOVERY OF THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS. — SETTLEMENTS OF THE RUSSIANS. — CONCLUSION.

RUSSIA, continually endeavouring to enlarge towards the east an empire already too extensive, pushed her discoveries on that side as far as the extreme frontier of Asia; and did not relinquish the hope of one day adding to her vast dominions in the old world some portion of the new continent. Nor did these hopes appear destitute of foundation. Her Cossack emissaries could not in the end fail to reach America: for whether the two continents were united to the north and formed a continued land, or were separated by a strait, no obstacles could be imagined capable of forming an insuperable barrier to the progress of these hardy and intrepid adventurers.

Yet it could not be expected that hunters wholly unacquainted with the art of navigation, and who only tempted fortune at sea, from time to time, merely for

the purpose of hunting on the islands near the coast of Kamtschatka, would be able to procure such intelligence as should leave no doubt respecting the relative situation of Asia and America. An ignorant hunter might easily land on the latter continent, and, finding there the same animals and productions as on the opposite shores of Asia and the intermediate islands, might return without being aware of his discovery. No certain information could be obtained in this respect but by a concerted expedition, entrusted to the direction of an experienced seaman. Peter the Great, to whose ambition the half of a great continent did not seem sufficient, and who engaged warmly in every grand and liberal project, drew up with his own hand, a few days before his death, the instructions for a voyage, whose object was to ascertain whether Asia was separated from America by a strait. The instructions of the emperor were expressed as follows:—

1. To construct at Kamschatka, or other commodious place on the Eastern Ocean, one or two vessels.

2. With them to examine the coasts towards the north and towards the east, to see whether they were not contiguous with America, since their end was not known.

3. To see whether there was any harbour belonging to Europeans in those parts. To keep an exact journal of all that should be discovered, with which the commander was to return to St. Petersburgh.

The czar was at first desirous that the whole of the navigation along the north coast of Asia should at the same time be ascertained: for which purpose two vessels were ordered to sail from Archangel to the Icy Sea. But this attempt was not successful: one of the vessels was hemmed in by the ice, and thereby hindered from advancing; the other was never heard of afterwards. The officers selected to command the eastern expedition were, captain Vitus Behring, a Dane by birth, and Alexoi Tshirikof, a Russian officer. Behring was a captain commandant, or commodore, in the Russian

navy, and had given many proofs of his zeal and ability in the service of the czar.

Behring departed from Petersburgh as soon as he had received his orders. The officers and mariners who were to serve under him, with the shipwrights and other artificers, had likewise to travel from Petersburgh to the remotest parts of Siberia. It was proposed to build one vessel at Ochotzk, in which to transport the whole company and their stores to Kamtschatka, where another vessel was to be constructed, so that they might proceed on their voyage of discovery with two vessels in company. These preparations required much time as well as labour, so that above three years elapsed before they were completed.

On the 14th of July, 1728, the expedition sailed from the river of Kamtschatka. In about three weeks they reached the latitude 64° 30′, where eight men came rowing towards the vessels in a leathern boat, and demanded of the Russians whence they came and what was their object. One of them swam to the ship, upon seal-skins filled with wind. They said that they were Tshuktzki, and were conversed with by means of a Korjak interpreter. They pointed out a small island to the north, which the Russians afterwards named the *Isle of St. Lawrence*. Behring did not proceed beyond lat. 67° 18′, because, as no land was discernible to the north or east, he conceived that he had ascertained the separation of Asia and America, which was the sole object of his mission. He had, in reality, advanced about a degree and a quarter beyond the most eastern point of Asia, and, without knowing it, had sailed through the strait which separates the old and new worlds. Posterity has since equitably imposed upon it the name of Behring's Strait. The same navigators undertook a second voyage the following year, but without being able to obtain any new information.

It is remarkable that Behring, in these voyages, did not once discern the coast of America; nor does he seem to have shaped his course for discoveries towards

the east. Yet the existence of land in that direction was not an obscure tradition; it was marked even in many maps drawn according to the best information which could be at that time procured. A colonel of Cossacks, named Schestakoff, published a chart at Petersburgh, in 1626, in which was placed an island in the Icy Sea, two days' journey distant from the mouth of the river Kolyma; and beyond this island, two days' journey farther to the north, was placed a coast designated by the name of the *Large Country*. Another chart, made by an inhabitant of Jakutzk, represented two islands to the east of the Tshuktzki country, the farthest of them above two days' journey from the main land: and beyond these islands was marked a large country full of forests and abounding in game; and whose inhabitants, it is noticed, were called by the Tshuktzki *Kitchin Eljæt*.

While Behring was on his northern voyage, colonel Schestakoff proposed to the Russian government "to reduce the Tshuktzki people; to discover the extent of their country; and to examine the Schantarian Isles." His views coincided with those of the government, and in 1727 he was appointed to the command of the forces which were thought sufficient to carry his designs into execution. Dmitri Paulutski, a captain of dragoons, was joined with him in independent command, and 400 Cossacks were placed at their disposal, besides the garrisons that lay within the jurisdiction of Jakutsk.

Schestakoff marched to the head of the Gulf of Peshina, where he met the whole force of the Tshuktzki nation. His little troop did not exceed 150 men; nevertheless he resolved on giving battle. He was killed by an arrow in the engagement that ensued, and his troops were totally routed. Paulutski had in the mean time collected a force of 215 Russians and 220 friendly Siberians, for an expedition into the country of the Tshuktzki. He departed from the fort on the Anadir on the 12th of March, 1731; proceeding first north-east, then east, and afterwards directly to the north, till, at the end of

two months, he arrived at the Icy Sea, near the mouth of a considerable river. Again setting forward, he proceeded for fifteen days along the sea-coast; the greater part of the time upon the ice, and sometimes at so great a distance from the land that the mouths of the rivers were not discernible. At length, on the 7th of June, he met a large army of the Tshuktzki. He summoned them to submit themselves to the Russian empire. They refused, were attacked and defeated. The Russians rested for eight days after the battle, and then continued their march eastward. They passed two rivers flowing into the Icy Sea, and fought two more battles with the Tschuktzki with the like success. The last of these engagements took place on the 14th of July. Among the slain was found a man whose upper lip was pierced through for the purpose of inserting carved pieces of sea-horses' teeth. From this ornament, it may be conjectured that he was an American. Paulutski and his men crossed overland from the Icy Sea to the shores of the Eastern Ocean, not at a narrow isthmus, but at a considerable distance from the sea; leaving to the left hand a projection of the continent of indefinite extent. When they came near that cape which was supposed to be the most northerly part of the continent seen by Behring, they turned inland, and reached the fort on the Anadir on the 21st of October. This extraordinary march, round the remotest corner of Siberia, partly on the Icy Sea, and partly through the country of a courageous and determined enemy, occupied six months. The patience and hardihood of Russians alone could have accomplished such an undertaking.

In the mean time a Cossack named Krupishef had received orders to equip a vessel, and to sail round Kamtschatka to the country of the Tshuktzki, in order to cooperate with the land forces of Schestakoff and Paulutski. Krupishef sailed accordingly, and stayed some time on the coast of the Tshuktzki without receiving any intelligence respecting the Russian commanders. "A gale of wind forced him from the point of land at which

Behring's voyage had terminated: he steered towards the east, and found, first an island, and afterwards a country of great extent. As soon as they had sight of this land, a man came to them in a canoe like to those of the Greenlanders. They could only understand from him that he was an inhabitant of a large country where there were many animals and forests. The Russians followed the coast of this land two whole days without being able to approach it, when a storm came on, and they returned to Kamtschatka."

This voyage of Krupishef completed the discovery of Behring's Strait, and proved the proximity of the Asiatic and American continents. It encouraged the Russian government to continue those researches. Behring, and the officers who had served under him in his northern voyage, received marks of distinction, and a variety of plans were formed for expeditions and enterprises by sea. One object proposed was to ascertain, if possible, an entire navigation from Archangel to Kamtschatka: another, of which Behring himself was to undertake the execution, was to discover the exact distance between Kamtschatka and the coast of America in the same parallel. The first of these objects was never attained. Many expeditions were fitted out to examine the northern coast of Siberia, but they all had an unfortunate result. The navigation from the Yenisei to the Lena has never been accomplished: many brave men have perished in the attempt to effect it; but the Taimura promontory, which stretches to the seventy-eighth degree of latitude, and is always environed by an immense barrier of ice, seems to interpose an insurmountable obstacle to navigation.

About the time when these various plans were in agitation, an extraordinary accident gave a fresh impulse to the geographical ardour of the Russian government. A Japanese vessel, laden with silks, cotton, rice, and pepper, was forced by stress of weather to a distance from the land; and after being tossed for some months, it is said, at sea, was wrecked on the exterior or eastern

coast of Kamtschatka. The crew got to land, and saved the most valuable part of the cargo. The Cossacks, stationed near the place, soon came to the wreck; but their expectations not being satisfied with the presents they received, they fell upon the Japanese, and murdered them all but two—an old man and a boy of eleven years old. The Cossack officer was afterwards punished for this crime; and the two surviving Japanese arrived in Petersburgh in 1732. This affair drew the attention of the government towards Japan, an intercourse with which country had long been coveted by the Russians; but now it occurred to them, for the first time, that it would be advisable to ascertain the relative geographical position of the two countries.

In 1739, captain Martin Spangberg, who had accompanied Behring in his voyage to the north, and lieutenant William Walton, sailed on an expedition, the chief purpose of which was to ascertain the exact situation of Japan with respect to Siberia. On leaving the Kurili Islands, they were separated by tempestuous weather. Spangberg arrived at the coast of Japan, in latitude 38° 41′ N. Great numbers of Japanese vessels were seen sailing along the coast; the country seemed well cultivated, and crowded with villages. The Russians were afraid to go on shore, and continued to keep under sail. On one day seventy-nine fishing-boats were counted near Spangberg's vessel. It was remarked that, instead of iron, the Japanese use brass and copper in building their boats. There came at length to the Russian vessel a large boat, in which, besides the rowers, were four men in embroidered habits, who appeared like persons of distinction. They were invited into the cabin, and on entering it bowed low, with their hands over their heads, and remained in that position till the captain desired them to rise. A globe and sea chart were presented them, and they readily pointed to their own country, which they call *Niphon*. Spangberg believed that he had fulfilled the object of his voyage, and accordingly set sail to return. In latitude 43° 50′ he

arrived at a great island, near which he anchored. The inhabitants wore leathern boots, like those of the Kamtschadales and Kurili islanders. They spoke the same language as the latter, but differed from them in having long hair all over their bodies. On seeing a cock on board, they fell on their knees as if to worship it.

Walton reached the coast of Japan in lat. 38° 17′. By following a fleet of fishing-boats, he was conducted to a port in front of a large town or city. A Japanese vessel approached the ship, and with great civility, by signs, invited the Russians to land. A boat was sent, accordingly, with two empty water-casks, and some articles to bestow as presents. The shore was lined with Japanese, who crowded to view the strangers; and the moment the boat arrived they kindly offered their services to fill the casks with fresh water. The town seemed to contain about 1500 houses, some of stone, others of wood, and extended nearly two miles along the shore. One of the inhabitants politely invited Kasimerof, who commanded the boat, to take refreshments at his house. Wine, fruits, and sweetmeats, were presented in vessels of porcelain. Shops were numerous in the streets, and the country around was richly cultivated with grain and peas. The Japanese afterwards visited the ship, and carried on some traffic with the Russian crew on deck. Walton sailed about ninety leagues to the south, along the east side of Japan. The inhabitants were every where willing to enter into an intercourse with the Russians; but an officer at length interfered, and prohibited the people from visiting the ship. Walton, in consequence, returned to Kamtschatka. The voyage of Spangberg and Walton was the first in which the Russians crossed the tracks of other Europeans in the South Sea.

It was not till the 4th of June, 1741, that Behring and Tshirikof, for the third time, set sail from Kamtschatka, with the intention, when they reached the latitude of 50° N., to direct their course to the east till they met with the continent of America. On the 20th of the same month the ships were separated in a gale of wind;

and hazy weather coming on after the storm they were never able to rejoin each other.

On the 18th of July, Behring discovered the continent of America, in the latitude of 58° 28′, and, according to his reckoning, fifty degrees east from the meridian of Petropawlowska, or St. Peter and St. Paul. The appearance of the land was exceedingly grand, but gloomy. Mountains of great elevation, covered with snow, extended far inland; and one summit rose to a towering height above the rest. Steller, the German naturalist and physician, who accompanied the expedition, says that he had never seen a higher mountain in Siberia; he named it Mount St. Elias. The two nearest headlands were called Cape St. Elias and Cape Hermogenes. On the 20th, Behring dropped anchor at a small island not far from the continent. Some huts were found on the main land, but the inhabitants had fled: the Russians took away some dried fish, and other provisions, leaving knives, tobacco, and trinkets in their stead. On putting to sea again, and trying to sail northward, Behring found that the shore of the continent ran south-west. He made his way, with difficulty, through the string of islands which skirt the great peninsula of Alaska. One island, or perhaps small cluster, received the name of *Schumagin*, from a Russian sailor who was buried there.

In one of these islands some men were seen fishing, and the Russians approached them in a boat, taking with them a Korjak, in the hope that he might serve as an interpreter. Nine Americans were on the shore, and as many canoes, but no women or habitations could be seen. They were unable to understand the Korjak; but immediately perceived that he was different from the Russians, and more like those of their own country. Three Russians landed with the Korjak, and the boat was made fast to a rock. To return this confidence, an American, who appeared to be the oldest of the party, entered the boat. He was presented with a glass of brandy; but, on putting it to his mouth, the strength of it so astonished and alarmed him that he thought him-

self betrayed, and, to allay his fears, it was found necessary to set him upon land. The Russians then retired hastily to their boat, but the Korjak was detained by the Americans, who had taken a fancy to him. He called out piteously to the Russians not to abandon him; and they at length fired two shots in the air, which produced the desired effect. The report, echoed from the islands round and the high hills on the main, seemed to come from every side; and the Americans, terrified beyond measure, fell flat on their faces, whereupon the Korjak made his escape. The next day the Americans came alongside the ship in their canoes, bearing a rod with feathers, as a calumet or ensign of peace. They offered presents, and seemed disposed to cultivate the acquaintance of the strangers; but the anchor was heaved, the wind freshened, and they were obliged to hasten back to shore. As the ship sailed from them, they saluted her with loud and repeated cheers.

At the close of September, when the ship quitted the Aleutian Islands, the wind blew constantly from the west, and the weather was damp and foggy. The greater part of the crew also were disabled by the scurvy; so that, in a tempestuous season and unknown seas, the vessel was driven along almost at the mercy of the wind.

Behring himself had for some time been in such a state of indisposition and decline, as no longer permitted him to concern himself about the management of the ship.

On the 4th of November, in lat. 50° N., land was seen before them; and on the following day it was resolved to run for it, the ship being now in a shattered condition, and the scurvy making dreadful ravages among the crew. The sea ran high as the ship approached the shore, and she struck upon a rock. A great wave fortunately threw her over the reef into smooth water; but the condition of the ship, of the ship's company, and the season of the year, made it evident that it would be necessary to remain at this island all the winter. Those

who were able to labour immediately went on shore, to prepare lodging for the sick, which they did by digging pits in some sand-hills near a brook which ran from a mountain into the sea, and sails were used for their present covering. Some of the men proceeded to explore the island; they found neither tree nor trace of inhabitants. The interior of the island swarmed with foxes, both blue and white; but their fur was not so fine as that of the Siberian fox. They were not at all frightened at the sight of men. Sea-otters were numerous along the shores. Their flesh was so tough that it could scarcely be torn to pieces with the teeth; but Steller the physician considered it a specific against the scurvy. The intestines were reserved for the use of the sick. The otters were killed not only for food, but also for their skins, which constitute a chief article of the trade between the Russians and Chinese. Nine hundred of these skins were collected on the island by the crew; and of these Steller brought away one third as his own share, having received them from the sailors as fees for his attention to them while sick. A dead whale, that was thrown on the coast, was called by them their magazine, as it offered them a resource when nothing better was to be procured.

Thirty of the crew died on the island. Poor Behring expired on the 8th of December. It might be said, that he was almost buried alive; for as the sand rolled down from the pit in which he lay, and covered his feet, he would not suffer it to be removed, believing that it kept him warm: and it thus increased upon him till he was more than half covered; so that, when he was dead, it was necessary to unearth him, in order to inter him properly.

On the 6th of May the survivors of the crew, in number forty-five persons, commenced building a vessel from the timbers that remained of the wreck, in order to return to Kamtschatka. The carpenters were all dead; but a Cossack named Starodubzof, who had worked some time as a shipwright at Ochotsk, undertook to

superintend the work. The new vessel was launched on the 10th of August, and they sailed on the 16th; but owing to adverse winds did not make the coast of Kamtschatka till the 25th. On the 27th they cast anchor in the bay of St. Peter and St. Paul. This vessel performed so well in the passage, that the Cossack Starodubzof was promoted, for his good service, to the rank of sinbojarski, which is a degree of Siberian nobility. Behring left his name to the island on which he died.

It is now time to return to Tshirikof, whose voyage, though less unfortunate than that of his commander, was hardly attended with less hardship and distress. After his separation from Behring, on the 20th of June, he ran for the American continent, which he made in lat. 55° 36′. The coast which presented itself before him was steep and barren, guarded by rocks, and without a single island that could afford him shelter. He anchored off the coast, and sent his long boat with orders to put on shore wherever she could land. Several days elapsed without her re-appearing: he despatched his other boat to learn the cause of this delay; but the latter experienced, no doubt, the same fate as the preceding; and it is unknown what became of either. Some canoes, manned by Americans, came off from the shore a few days after, to survey the ship; but they feared to approach it closely; and Tshirikof, despairing to see his men again, resolved to quit the coast, and reached Kamtschatka in the beginning of October.

Soon after the return of Behring's crew from the island on which he was shipwrecked and died, and which is called after his name, the inhabitants of Kamtschatka ventured over to that island, to which the sea-otters and other sea animals were accustomed to resort in great numbers. *Mednoi Ostroff*, or Copper Island, which takes that appellation from large masses of native copper found upon the beach, and which lies full in sight of Behring's Isle, was an easy and speedy discovery. These two small uninhabited spots were for some

time the only islands that were known, until the scarcity of land and sea animals, whose numbers were greatly diminished by the Russian hunters, occasioned other expeditions. Several of the vessels that were sent out upon these voyages were driven by stormy weather to the south-east, and thus obtained a knowledge of the *Aleutian Isles*, which abound in furred animals, and are but thinly peopled. From the year 1745, when these islands were first visited, until 1750, when the first tribute of furs was brought from them to Ochotsk, the government appears not to have been fully informed of their discovery. In 1760, the governor of Tobolsk turned his attention to those islands; and until that time all the discoveries subsequent to Behring's voyage were made, without the interposition of the court, by private merchants, in vessels fitted out at their own expense. It is on these Aleutian Islands, and on upwards of 300 leagues of coast which extend beyond the polar circle, that the indefatigable Russians have established those settlements and factories that support the great and advantageous fur trade carried on with China by the Russian empire.

In this volume a rapid view has been taken of the progress of geography from the commencement of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. We have seen with what hasty strides Europeans proceeded to establish themselves in the most distant regions of the globe. Ambition, the love of gold and of adventure, were the motives that prompted their indefatigable exertions. Yet the impulse arising from the discoveries of Columbus was not confined to the ambitious, the covetous, or romantic alone; the studious and speculative likewise felt its influence. Geography, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the favourite study of the greatest scholars. The attention of learned men seemed for a time engrossed by the light recently thrown on the

form and structure of the globe; and many mathematicians and philosophers zealously applied themselves to the perfection of geographical science. Yet geography can hardly be said to have been cultivated generally, or to have been designedly promoted, apart from views of political or mercantile interest, prior to the period at which we have now arrived in the course of this work. The curiosity of mankind is now more liberal and exalted; and, among civilised nations, not even war is allowed to obstruct the progress of geographical researches. Our reflections on the growth of geographical science are, therefore, reserved for the volume that is to follow.

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